policy REVIEW

Fall 1994 Number 70 $5.50 U.S. $7.15 Canada

Why Liberals Fear Me
Rush Limbaugh

Russia's Spiritual Wilderness
Barbara von der Heydt

Immigration or Welfare: Which Is the Enemy?
Ron K. Unz

Who Put the Muzzle on Congressional Reform
David Mason

Here's Looking at You
80 Great Conservative Movies

You Just Can't Take It Anymore
The Property Rights Revolt

How Judges Destroy Neighborhoods

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alternative fuels: The jury's still out

America's best transportation fuel is gasoline. And gasoline will continue to be America's fuel of the future, despite the hidden (and, occasionally, not so hidden) agenda of its detractors. There are people in government pushing for such alternative fuels as electricity, ethanol, methanol and compressed natural gas. In order to pump up support for their agenda, they will tell you gasoline is a major source of pollution; a fuel we could run short of; and one that imperils our nation's energy security. Their solution: Get on to clean alternative fuels like electricity, ethanol, methanol and natural gas.

But that's yesterday's thinking and the claims no longer have substance. Worse, consumers will take it on the chin subsidizing solutions that they do not need, and may not want—because those solutions may not work. In today's market, those alternative fuels simply cannot compete with gasoline. To make them work, government may try to mandate their use —giving them a guaranteed market, or subsidizing them through tax breaks.

But there is a clean alternative fuel coming in January that can compete. And it does so without subsidies. It's called reformulated gasoline (RFG). We'll be marketing it in many urban areas where smog is a problem. By the year 2000, Mobil and the oil industry will produce reformulated gasoline that cuts certain automotive emissions by 25 percent or more. Moreover, thanks to current improved gasoline quality and cleaner cars, air quality's already a whole lot better than it was a generation ago.

In fact, looking at the evidence, the case for nonpetroleum alternative fuels is pretty weak when you get past the rhetoric.

Claim 1: Using alternatives to gasoline will prevent us from depleting the world's oil reserves.

Fact: At last look, the world's proven reserves of crude oil were on the upswing. In 1963, for example, oil reserves stood at 310 billion barrels. By last year, they'd climbed to the trillion-barrel mark. That's over a 40-year supply at current rates of consumption. And more should be on the way as industry continues exploring in promising new areas. So, what's the problem?

Claim 2: We need alternatives to gasoline to clean up the air.

Fact: No, we don't. Air quality's improving —because programs already in place have had a chance to work. Today's gasoline-powered cars have about 97 percent fewer emissions than those of the '60s. It's the older models—just 10 percent of the car population—that cause about half of today's pollution. Emissions will drop even more when newer cars start using RFG.

Look at the evidence. Without any more regulations or legislation, automotive emissions will continue to decline. It's estimated that the contribution to smog from cars, vans and pickups will fall from 28 percent to 7 percent in New York and from 37 percent to 5 percent in Dallas by the year 2005. In Los Angeles, emissions will drop from 33 percent to 9 percent by 2010.

Claim 3: Fuels from other sources would protect us from seesawing oil prices.

Fact: That would only happen if we used no oil, which seems unlikely for many years to come. As long as oil is traded freely on world markets, everyone pays the same price—adjusted, of course, for transportation. The U.S. isn't "protected" from world prices. Moreover, prices for some alternate fuels—compressed natural gas and electricity—are linked to oil prices.

Alternative fuels other than RFG may have a role to play. But let consumers—not those who would manipulate the marketplace—decide. Until that happens, gasoline will take us where we want to go.

Mobil®

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

© 1994 Mobil Corporation

Fall 1994 policy REVIEW Number 70

Voice of America — *Rush Limbaugh* 4
Why Liberals Fear Me

Russia's Spiritual Wilderness — *Barbara von der Heydt* 12
Freedom Cannot Take Root Without Moral Reform

Reel Politik — *Michael Smith* 20
Great Conservative Cinema

Immigration or the Welfare State — *Ron K. Unz* 33
Which Is Our Real Enemy?

You Just Can't Take it Anymore — *Richard Miniter* 40
America's Property Rights Revolt

Don't Stand So Close to Me — *Wesley R. Smith* 48
Judges Are Giving Neighborhoods a Bum Rap

Thy Brother's Keeper — *David T. Beito* 55
The Mutual Aid Tradition of American Fraternal Orders

The Dog That Didn't Bark — *David Mason* 61
Who Put the Muzzle on Congressional Reform?

Rivers of Babylon — *Herbert H. Toler Jr.* 68
A Harvard Man Brings the Gospel to the Crack House

Delta Force — *Peter Warren* 72
Conservatism's Best Young Economists

Yes We Kenosha — *Stephen Glass* 80
With Can-Do Capitalism, A Wisconsin Town Busts Out of the Rustbelt

Riddles, Mysteries, and Enigmas — *Ilya Somin* 84
Unanswered Questions of Communism's Collapse

Letters: On Hayek's *Road*; Thoughts on Vincent Lane's Weapons Searches — *letters to the editor* 90

The Heritage Foundation

DIGITIZED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Heritage Foundation

Watch on Washington

Examining Issues of National Concern

- Health-Care Reform
- America's Social Ills
- The State of the Economy
- World Trade and U.S. Competitiveness in the Global Marketplace
- A Rudderless Foreign Policy

Heritage Foundation specialists can discuss these and other issues. To schedule a presentation by a Heritage expert for your business, association, campus or civic group, contact **The Heritage Foundation Speakers Bureau**: (202) 546-4400, ext. 516.

policy REVIEW

Number 70 **Fall 1994**

Editor
Adam Meyerson

Deputy Editor
Joe Loconte

Managing Editor
Margaret D. Bonilla

Assistant Editor
Stephen Glass

Editorial Assistant
Brendan O'Scannlain

Publisher
Edwin J. Feulner Jr.

Associate Publisher
Ben Morehead

Editorial Board

David I. Meiselman, Chairman
Sir Kingsley Amis
George F. Gilder
Stephen Haseler
Harold M. Hochman
Ernest W. Lefever
Henry G. Manne
Antonio Martino
Allan H. Meltzer
Robert Moss
John O'Sullivan
William Schneider Jr.
Gordon Tullock
Ernest van den Haag

The Heritage Foundation

Policy Review (ISSN 0146-5945) is published quarterly by The Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002-4999. Second-class postage paid at Washington, DC, and additional mailing offices.

Policy Review is a forum for conservative debate on the major political issues of our time. The views in *Policy Review* are those of the authors. They do not necessarily reflect the views of the editorial board or of The Heritage Foundation.

Correspondence should be sent to *Policy Review*, 214 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002-4999. Telephone: (202) 546-4400. Send requests to reprint more than short quotations to the Associate Publisher. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Policy Review*, 214 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002-4999. Subscription rates are $22 for one year, $44 for two years, and $66 for three years. Add $10 per year for foreign air delivery.

Policy Review is indexed by the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, the Public Affairs Information Service, and the Social Sciences Index. *Policy Review* has been copyrighted for 1993 by The Heritage Foundation and is available on NEXIS. U.S.A. Newsstand Distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 1130 Cleveland Road, Sandusky, Ohio 44870. Printed in the United States of America.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Disciples and Democracy

Religious Conservatives and the Future of American Politics

Edited by MICHAEL CROMARTIE

The religious right, currently the subject of intense press attention, is here scrutinized by both insiders and outside observers. Journalists **Fred Barnes** (*The New Republic*), **Michael Barone** (*U.S. News & World Report*), and **E. J. Dionne** (*Washington Post*), activists **Ralph Reed** (Christian Coalition) and **Michael Farris**, and scholarly analysts **John Green**, **Allen Hertzke**, **Michael Horowitz**, **Richard Land**, and **George Weigel** examine the agenda of religious conservatives, their influence upon the 1992 election, and whether and how they can increase their political influence in the next four years. In a foreword, **Irving Kristol** calls religious conservatives "the very core of an emerging American conservatism." The volume, published jointly by the Ethics and Public Policy Center and Eerdmans, includes brief comments by eighteen other informed observers as well. **147 pages, paper, $12.99** ■ ISBN 0-8028-0847-6

- "*The rise of the religious conservatives is a hot topic, and this is an indispensable study and critique. A lively, solid, and serious piece of work.*" — MICHAEL NOVAK, American Enterprise Institute
- "*A highly thought-provoking and well-balanced introduction to a subject that is not just difficult but combustible.*" — CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER, syndicated columnist
- "*This profound book goes to the heart of questions faced daily in newsrooms, on school boards, in Congress, and at the dinner table. It is a serious and significant exploration of the intersection of rights, responsibility, community, and tolerance, conducted in a fashion that illuminates the discussion and enlightens the reader.*" — THOMAS BYRNE EDSALL, political reporter, *Washington Post*
- "*An interesting and compelling analysis of a very significant political phenomenon.*" — TIMOTHY J. RUSSERT, moderator, "Meet the Press"
- "*Fresh exposition, examination, and debate of a topic weighed down by the worst kinds of misrepresentation. For those who follow the evolution of our contemporary culture war, 'Disciples and Democracy' is essential reading.*" — JAMES DAVISON HUNTER, University of Virginia

ETHICS AND PUBLIC POLICY CENTER
1015 15th Street NW, #900 ■ Washington, D.C. 20005 ■ (202) 682-1200 ■ fax (202) 408-0632

Please send me *Disciples and Democracy*: _____ copies paper, at $12.99 each.

_____ Cost of book(s)
_____ D.C. residents: add 7% sales tax
_____ Postage ($1.50 first copy, $.50 each add'l)
_____ TOTAL

Make checks payable to Ethics and Public Policy Center

❑ I have enclosed $_____.

❑ Bill my ❑ VISA or ❑ MasterCard account.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

CARD NUMBER _____ EXPIRES _____

SIGNATURE _____

Ethics and Public Policy Center
1015 Fifteenth Street NW, #900 ■ Washington, D.C. 20005 ■ (202) 682-1200

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Voice of America

Why Liberals Fear Me

Rush Limbaugh

There are times in one's life that despite all the blood, toil, tears, and sweat expended in the pursuit of excellence, one really should lean back, light up a good cigar, take a sip of an adult beverage, and just savor the moment. My friends, this is one of those times.

Thirty years after the inauguration of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society; 25 years after Woodstock; two decades after Richard Nixon's resignation; and two years after Democrats secured control of the White House and both chambers of Congress, modern liberalism—exhausted and confused—is on the run. Three decades after Ronald Reagan's brilliant enunciation of conservative ideals at the end of the 1964 campaign, he told me "Now that I've retired from active politics, I don't mind that you've become the number-one voice for conservatism in our country." And liberal fear is palpable.

Target Numero Uno

Thus came the sizzling summer onslaught against me. "He's a showman, a showoff, and a jerk," wrote one pundit. "Chief propagandist for the revolution," said another. "A self-serving, hate-mongering liar," railed one writer. "A tool-shed-sized hate monger," said another. "Rush Limbaugh's ideology makes him a political dinosaur, which puts him on the endangered species list," wrote one critic." Judge for yourself about that slabhead, Rush Limbaugh," said another.

The assault came from every corner of liberalism—from the White House and the *Washington Post*, from the *New York Times* and the *New Yorker*, from the *Nation* and the *New Republic*, from *Time* magazine and the *Los Angeles Times*, from C-Span and CNN, from *U.S. News & World Report* and *USA Today*, and from National Public Radio, the National Organization for Women, and the National Education Association (I'm leaving many out, but you get the picture). In the month that followed President Clinton's June attack on me, I was mentioned in 1,450 stories, including the *South China Morning Post* and *Agence France Presse*, as tracked by a media database service.

Liberals have, in fact, elevated me to the role of leading political figure. Target Numero Uno. It is a role I have never sought. My goal has always been to host the most-listened-to radio and television shows in history and, in turn, charge confiscatory advertising rates. But as it happens, not only am I a performer, I am also effectively communicating a body of beliefs that strikes terror into the heart of even the most well-entrenched liberals, shaking them to their core.

The interesting question is, Why? Why do liberals fear me? I am not a distinguished member of Congress. I am not running for President. I do not control billions of dollars in taxpayer money. I can enact no policy, law, or regulation to affect a single American citizen's behavior. So why the high level of liberal emotion? This would seem to me to be a legitimate area of inquiry to be pursued by members of the mainstream media—but their own animus has prevented them from solid analysis of this phenomenon. Yet again, I must do their job for them.

First, liberals fear me because I threaten their control of the debate. These are the facts: Twenty million people a week listen to my radio program on 659 stations nationwide, on short wave and Armed Forces Radio worldwide, while several million more watch my television show on 250 stations nationally. I am on the air 17-and-a-half hours a week. Add to that 6 million copies sold of my two books, *The Way Things Ought To Be* and *See, I Told You So*, and 475,000 monthly subscribers to *The Limbaugh Letter* after just two years in business.

What I do in this rather large *oeuvre* (a little literary lingo, there) is hard for pundits to peg. Media sages have not to this point been confronted with a conservative who is both commentator and entertainer. A conservative who trafficks in satire, of all things—mostly liberal turf until now. A conservative who dares poke fun at liberal sacred cows, and who does so with relish, optimism, and good cheer. A conservative whose expression of core beliefs is unabashed, unapologetic, unembarrassed—and who has the best bumper music on the air.

How do I attract so many people? First, I approach my audience with enormous respect. I am absolutely convinced that the country contains vast numbers of intelligent, engaged citizens who are hungry for information and inspiration. These are people who play by the rules, who are working hard to raise their families, to strengthen

Rush Limbaugh *is host of nationally syndicated radio and television programs, the author of two best-selling books, and editor of* The Limbaugh Letter.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Shaun Stanley/Denver Post

Rush Limbaugh greeting his fans. "I approach my audience with enormous respect. I am absolutely convinced that the country contains vast numbers of intelligent citizens who are hungry for information and inspiration."

their communities, to do the right thing—and to enthusiastically enjoy life in the process. They are proud to be counted among those who believe in God, American ideals, morality, individual excellence, and personal responsibility.

These are the people who are constantly told: "You are the problem. You aren't compassionate enough, you don't pay enough taxes, your selfishness and greed (which is how the desire to look after one's own family and improve one's lot in life is always defined) are destroying the country." These are the people whose most heartfelt convictions have been dismissed, scorned, and made fun of by the mainstream media. I do not make fun of them. I confirm their instincts, with evidence taken directly from pages of the daily papers and from television news programs. I explain what is actually in legislation. I quote what our esteemed members of Congress and the mainstream media actually say. I detail and analyze news stories (many of which don't get national play except on my programs) that demonstrate the absurdity of liberal policies.

"I Am Equal Time"

I have not attracted and kept my audience by being a blowhard, a racist, a sexist, a hatemonger. Those who make such charges insult the intelligence of the American people. If I were truly what my critics claim, I would have long ago, deservedly, gone into oblivion. The fact is, my audience knows I constantly champion rugged individualism. One of the most oft-heard phrases on my shows is this: "I want a great America made up of great individuals, an America where everyone is unshackled to be the best he can be." This is the philosophy that sends liberals into fits—because they know a country made of strong, self-reliant individuals does not need them at all.

My tools are not "right-wing demagoguery," as is so often charged. My tools are evidence, data, and statistics. Economic analysis. Cultural criticism. Political comment. I demonstrate. I illustrate. I provide my audience with information that the mainstream media refuses to disseminate. And I do so in an entertaining, enjoyable way. That is why I always say my views and commentary don't need to be balanced by equal time. I *am* equal time. And the free market has proved my contention.

Despite claims from my detractors that my audience is comprised of mind-numbed robots, waiting for me to give them some sort of marching orders, the fact is that I am merely enunciating opinions and analysis that support what they already know. Thousands of listeners have told me, on the air, in faxes, letters, and by computer e-mail, that *I* agree with *them.* Finally, they say, somebody in the media is saying out loud what they have believed all along.

This hard evidence that huge numbers of ordinary Americans have privately rejected the tenets of liberalism is a genuine threat to the decades-long liberal dominance of American institutions. Conservatives—who have been shut out of the debate in the arena of ideas for a generation—are finally understanding the stunning truth that they are not alone. The marginalization of conservative ideas, a successful liberal tactic for 30 years, is over. Most Americans are, in fact, conservative. They may not always vote that way, but they live their lives that way. This fact has been successfully hidden from the population. Until now.

Don't Ignore Him

Beyond mere jealousy that their territory has been horned-in on, the political and cultural significance of this phenomenon has finally begun to dawn on liberals. One of the first signs of panic occurred back in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Outlook section of the *Washington Post* last February. In "Day of the Dittohead," David Remnick opined: "Nearly all the hype about Limbaugh winds up on the entertainment pages. And yet there is very little in the press to suggest that he is, above all, a sophisticated propagandist,

I CANNOT RAISE YOUR TAXES. I CANNOT REGULATE YOUR BUSINESS OUT OF EXISTENCE. I CANNOT AFFECT YOUR BEHAVIOR IN ANY WAY, SHAPE OR FORM, NOR DO I WISH TO. I MERELY SEEK TO PERSUADE.

an avatar of the politics of meanness and envy. Limbaugh's influence is hard to gauge," Remnick continued. "But attention must be paid...the left-wing media and the 'arts and croissants crowd,' as Limbaugh puts it, ignore him at their peril."

President Clinton picked up this fretful refrain in Atlanta on May 3, amidst sagging poll numbers and embarrassing headlines ranging from Whitewater to Paula Jones. "You [have] got to understand in the rural South where you've got Rush Limbaugh and all this right-wing extremist media just pouring venom at us every day and nothing to counter that, we need an election to get the facts out," claimed the president on CNN. A few weeks later, the president was back on the warpath during an interview aboard Air Force One with St. Louis radio station KMOX. "The Republicans and the far right in this country have their own media networks. We don't have anything like that. They have extra organized political action groups that we can't match, and they have the Republican Party's fund-raising apparatus, which has been strengthened by having had the White House for all but four in the [past] 20 years." (For the record, Bill Clinton had spoken at a $3.5 million Democratic fund-raiser 36 hours before. But I digress.)

"I think there is too much cynicism and too much intolerance ... look at how much of talk radio is a constant, unremitting drumbeat of negativism and cynicism," the president continued, explaining that he was newly determined "to be aggressive." He then added, "After I get off the radio with you today, Rush Limbaugh will have three hours to say whatever he wants, and I won't have any opportunity to respond, and there's no truth detector. You won't get on afterward and say [what] was true and what wasn't."

The pundits didn't quite know what to make of that. Yes, they agreed, Rush Limbaugh is a blemish on the American political landscape. Still, the president's performance was odd. The response of the *New York Times* editorial page was blistering: "Whining and public self-pity are not presidential-scale attributes." The *Washington Post's* Mary McGrory concurred: "His remarks were soggy with self-pity.... Self-pity is exhaustion's little sister and follows her everywhere. Clinton should read what was said about our most saintly president, Abraham Lincoln, and stop whining." Even London's *Sunday Telegraph* could not resist commenting: "To get into a barnyard scrap with right-wing talk show hosts like Rush Limbaugh does little for the dignity of the Oval Office."

Reign of Error?

The president's tirade on KMOX occurred on June 24. On June 28, a left-wing media attack dog group released a "report" entitled Limbaugh's "Reign of Error." "From AIDS to ozone, from Whitewater to the Bible, Limbaugh seems to be able to dissemble and deceive on virtually any subject," read the press release issued by the misnamed Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) and picked up by the Associated Press.

According to FAIR, I am guilty of 43 instances of "sloppiness, ignorance, or fabrication." The *National Review* recently came to my defense: "Considering that Mr. Limbaugh has logged over 4,000 hours on the air, 43 mistakes would be a pretty good record: how does FAIR's record compare?" But members of the mainstream media, looking for a way to justify their animosity toward me and slavishly devoted to the agenda if not the person of Bill Clinton, could not resist FAIR's seduction.

One charge spread like wildfire because it seemed to best illustrate the premise that I invent stories with abandon and lie about my sources. In January of this year, I mentioned on my radio show a report that the private school that Chelsea Clinton attends had assigned its 8th graders to write a paper on "Why I Feel Guilty Being White." I cited CBS as my source. FAIR's report implied that I made this up out of whole cloth. In an advertisement on the *New York Times* editorial page, FAIR claimed this was an example of a "groundless assertion." Ellen Hume, on CNN's "Reliable Sources," had a field day. "I don't respect someone who is clearly telling myths and

LIBERALS FEAR ME BECAUSE I THREATEN THEIR CONTROL OF THE DEBATE.

pretending that he's got facts behind him. Occasionally [Limbaugh will] do something like say that the Sidwell Friends School had some test for Chelsea—some essay Chelsea Clinton had to write about why I don't like being white, or why I'm embarrassed to be white, and then he cites a source like CBS News. That simply isn't true. None of that was true. So where is this coming from...and where do you draw the line at a mistake, which we all make, and a deliberate distortion of the fact to pander to myths that people wish were true?"

I did not fabricate this story, as I explained in a column in *USA Today*. CBS Morning Resource, a wire service for radio talk show hosts run by the CBS Radio Network, reported the story on January 6, 1994. An Ohio radio station brought the CBS wire story to my attention. *Playboy* magazine and *Heterodoxy* magazine had both already pub-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lished the story, and in fact were the sources of the CBS wire story. Sidwell later denied that the incident occurred, and I accepted its word and said so on my radio program. But I refused to accept FAIR's suggestion that I made up the story or lied about CBS as its source.

The following week on "Reliable Sources," Ellen Hume admitted her mistake. "In deference to Rush, I would like to make a clarification, which is that there was a story that he put out on the radio, that Chelsea Clinton had to write some essay about how she hates being white. This was not a true story. Rush, as far as I know, never apologized for broadcasting it, but he did say he got it from CBS. *It turns out that the bad guy here was CBS, not Rush.* They had a tip sheet that actually put the story out, so I say, Rush, you're off the hook on that one." [emphasis mine].

The media makes mistakes about me all the time. One columnist claimed I call Hillary Rodham Clinton a feminazi. I do no such thing. Another said I blame the falling dollar on welfare and feminazis. I never have. Still another pundit claimed my radio show is carried on more than 1,400 stations. Not yet true, but inevitable. What is undeniable is that my critics—from the president to his left-wing political allies and devotees in the mainstream media—are quick to judge what I say as outrageous, fabricated, and deceptive because I am effective, and they are panic-stricken by my ability to challenge the current terms of political debate.

The second reason liberals fear me is that I represent middle America's growing rejection of the elites. Americans are increasingly convinced they have been deceived by the so-called "professionals" and "experts"—particularly, but not exclusively, in the media. Seeing themselves as sacrosanct, the self-important media elite have adopted a religious zeal toward their business—which they actually consider a "mission." I pointed this out in my first book, but the situation has gotten both worse and more transparent. The *Washington Post's* advertising campaign for new subscribers states bluntly, "If you don't get it, you don't get it." Fortunately, most Americans don't get it. Meanwhile, the *New York Times Magazine* promotes itself as "What Sunday Was Created For," which might amuse the Creator, whom, I suspect, had something very different in mind when He did the creating. But that's just it. What you have here is the arrogance of power. And that is why so many people are looking elsewhere, and increasingly to me.

Of course, it is not just the media elites that Americans are rejecting. It is the medical elites, the sociology elites, the education elites, the legal elites, the science elites—the list goes on and on—and the ideas this bunch promotes through the media. Americans have been told our health care lags behind the rest of the industrialized world; it doesn't. They were told drugs are safe; they aren't. They were told free sex is liberating; it isn't. They were told massive welfare spending would help people get back on their feet; it hasn't. They were told that without government intervention on behalf of environmentalist wackos, the world would come to an end; it won't. They were told that religious people are dangerous to the country; they aren't.

An assistant managing editor for one regional newspaper actually wrote, "I despise the Rush Limbaugh show," throwing the pretense of journalistic objectivity to the winds. Most aren't so explicit, but their work reeks with animosity for my audience and me. The FAIR report, in fact, is interesting precisely because it is far more an elitist attack on my core beliefs than a critique of my accuracy.

I PROVIDE MY AUDIENCE WITH INFORMATION THAT THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA REFUSES TO DISSEMINATE. THAT IS WHY I ALWAYS SAY MY VIEWS AND COMMENTARY DON'T NEED TO BE BALANCED BY EQUAL TIME. I AM EQUAL TIME.

FAIR was launched in 1987 with seed money from the New World Foundation, whose chairman that year was none other than Hillary Rodham Clinton. Its board of advisers include some of America's best-known leftists and feminists, from Ed Asner to Gloria Steinem. Its mission is to expose right-wing bias in the media. That's right—I'm not making this up—right-wing bias: The group attacked the ABC mini-series "Amerika" for being too harsh on communists.

Hook, Line, & Sinker

Along the way, FAIR has developed quite a track record for inaccuracy. In 1988 FAIR charged that a Texas reporter had attempted suicide because his paper (*Beaumont Enterprise*) refused to print an article about toxic waste. The truth was that the paper ran an entire series of articles, which won a journalism prize. The reporter hadn't tried to kill himself; he accidentally wounded himself with a handgun.

In 1993, FAIR promoted the myth that domestic violence soars on Super Bowl Sunday, flooding abuse telephone hotlines with calls and crowding emergency rooms with wives beaten to a pulp by football-crazed husbands. The story was picked up by media outlets all over the country. There was just one problem; it wasn't true. In fact, *Washington Post* reporter Ken Ringle debunked the story and detailed FAIR's role in the hoax in a widely praised article of January 31, 1993. The next day, the *San Francisco Examiner* reported: "Jeff Cohen, executive director of FAIR, acknowledged that he could not find a specific study to back up his group's claim."

What was disturbing, though not surprising, was that anyone in the mainstream media took FAIR's assault on me seriously, given the group's obvious bias and history of error. But since FAIR was repeating so many elitist liberal myths as facts, many in the mainstream media could not tell the difference. Take health care, for example. Not surprising given the current debate, FAIR attacked my view on health care, a charge quickly picked up by the Associated Press. I'm quoted as saying: "If you have any doubts about the status of American health care,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

just compare it with that in other industrialized nations." FAIR responded: "The United States ranks 16th in life expectancy and 21st in infant survival among industrialized nations, according to the CIA's *1993 World Fact Book*."

The truth is, I was right. The Associated Press bought FAIR's charge hook, line, and sinker, but the evidence supporting my claim was there for the asking—in *The New Republic*, no less. Elizabeth McCaughey, then a fellow at the Manhattan Institute, in her article, "No Exit," answered this myth directly: "The [Clinton] Administration

HISTORIANS WILL LONG REMEMBER 1994 AS A WATERSHED YEAR IN AMERICAN POLITICS. THIS WAS THE YEAR THAT MODERN LIBERALISM TIPPED ITS HAND, REVEALING ITS DEEP INSECURITY.

often cites two statistics—America's relatively high infant mortality rate and its lower life expectancy—to support the need for the Clinton health bill. But these have almost nothing to do with the quality of American medical care. Both statistics reflect the epidemic of low-birth-weight babies born to teenage and drug-addicted mothers, as well as the large numbers of homicides in American cities and drug-related deaths. In fact, if you're seriously ill, the best place to be is in the United States. Among all industrialized nations, the United States has the highest cure rates for stomach, cervical, and uterine cancer, the second-highest cure rate for breast cancer, and is second to none in treating heart disease."

The real issue at stake in the health-care debate, as I have pointed out relentlessly on my programs, has been personal liberty. I examined for my audience the actual contents (a novel approach, I realize) of the Clinton health-care plan and its various Democratic incarnations. I pointed out the strictures, fines, penalties—including jail time—included in the president's plan. I ran the numbers. I detailed projections of the economic effects of the proposal on small business. I examined the history of government-run health care worldwide. I examined the history of government-run programs in the United States. Information citizens needed to make informed decisions, don't you think? Yet the interest of the mainstream media was merely to champion the Clinton plan, and "give the Clintons credit" for "raising the issue."

I welcome scrutiny. I gladly defend my opinions, my analysis, and the evidence I cite for them. But my contention is that this administration's policies do not, except on programs like mine, receive the kind of scrutiny regularly aimed at me. And the emphasis is clearly skewed. I cannot raise your taxes. I cannot regulate your business out of existence. I cannot affect your behavior in any way, shape or form—nor do I wish to. I merely seek to persuade. You are free to turn me off; you can ignore me. But you cannot tune in to another administration, or turn off the one we have. It is their ideas, their assertions, their policies that cry out for careful analysis and scrutiny.

Next, let's go to the issue of condoms. The *New York Times* sold FAIR advertising space on its editorial page to make this charge: "Rush's groundless assertions on issues of public importance include ... condom users have a one-in-five AIDS risk." This distorts even FAIR's own study, which quotes me as saying, "The worst of all this is the lie that condoms really protect against AIDS. The condom failure rate can be as high as 20 percent. Would you get on a plane—or put your children on a plane—if one in five passengers would be killed on the flight? Well, the statistic holds for condoms, folks." That, of course, is distinctly different from saying that condom users have a one-in-five AIDS risk. In addition, though liberals are loathe to admit it, I am right about the ineffectiveness of condoms. A 1993 study by Susan C. Weller for the University of Texas Medical Branch found that "Although contraceptive research indicates that condoms are 87 percent effective in preventing pregnancy, results of HIV transmission studies indicate that condoms may reduce risk of HIV infections by approximately 69 percent," adding that condom "efficacy may be much lower than commonly assumed." Weller's study concludes: "It is a disservice to encourage the belief that condoms will prevent sexual transmission of HIV."

IDEOLOGICAL FICTION

Or take women's issues. The *Los Angeles Times* couldn't resist citing FAIR's attack on my views on contemporary feminism. I'm quoted as saying: "Women were doing quite well in this country before feminism came along." FAIR's response: "Before feminism, women couldn't even vote." The fact is, the objectives and tactics of militant feminism bear little resemblance to the women's suffrage movement. The true backlash in this country is against militant feminism, yet another sign of victory. The largest women's organization in the country, for example, is not the National Organization for Women, with just 250,000 members. It is, instead, Concerned Women for America, a conservative group, with over 600,000 members. And even liberal women are having second thoughts. Wrote columnist Marilyn Gardner in the *Christian Science Monitor* (not exactly a conservative rag): "Every revolution has its losing side. In the sexual revolution, evidence continues to mount that the supposed winners—liberated women—are in some cases turning out to be the losers. Instead of the freedom and equality they thought they had achieved, too many find themselves shackled by unplanned pregnancies, abortions, single motherhood, infections or infertility." Precisely. But with

I REPRESENT MIDDLE AMERICA'S GROWING REJECTION OF THE LIBERAL ELITES.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gloria Steinem and Susan Faludi on FAIR's board, don't expect them to concede these points any time soon.

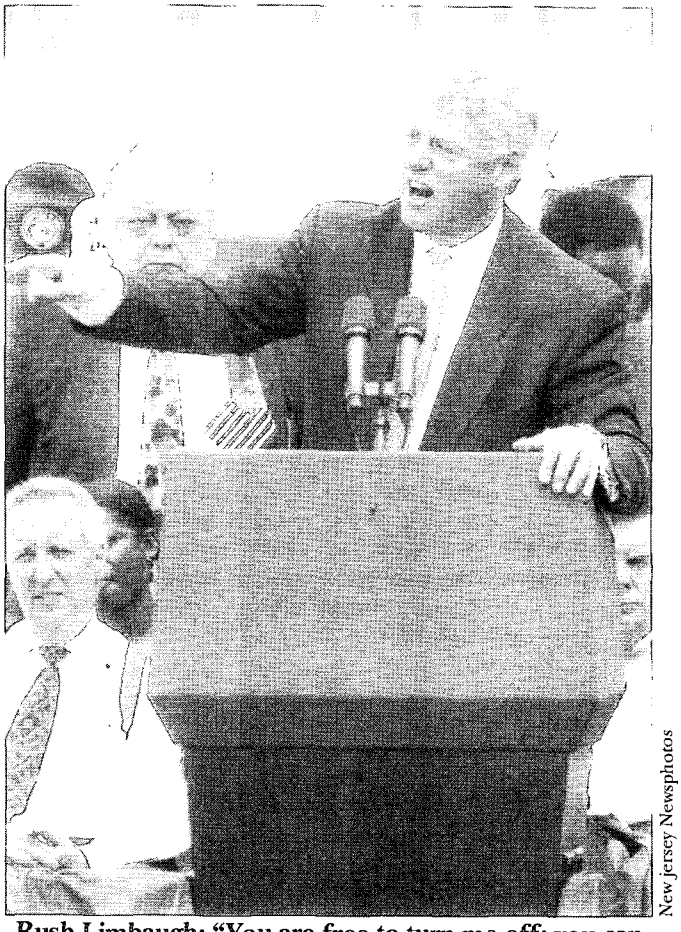
The elites have far too often dismissed fact for their ideological fiction. More and more Americans are beginning to awaken to this reality, and are looking to me for a second opinion. I give them the other side, which is based on common sense and traditional morality rather than academic hypotheses. And I am right, (as I like to say on the air) "97.9 percent of the time." On radio for six years and more than 4,000 hours, I have of course made mistakes along the way. But I make every attempt to prominently correct every such error as soon as I discover it. Here's an example of what FAIR considers a "fabrication": In one of my books, I attributed to James Madison a quote that he did not make. (People have been misattributing this quote to Madison as far back as Harold K. Lane's 1939 book, *Liberty, Cry, Liberty.*) This is a mistake—not a lie. And I have yet to publicly promise a middle-class tax cut I privately dismiss as "intellectually dishonest," and which I have no intention of keeping.

Third, liberals fear me because I'm validating the thoughts of the silent majority. Liberals seek to lull Americans to sleep with promises that government will take care of everything, if they will just fork over their money. I, on the other hand, challenge people to wake up. Millions already seriously question the wisdom of handing $1.5 trillion a year to the federal government when the post office cannot even deliver the mail on time—and actually throws away what it is too lazy to deliver. I provide the hard information, statistics, and specific details from the record to confirm many Americans' suspicions about government "efficiency." That is the sort of thing that infuriates liberals, who are wed to the idea that government is good, and the bigger the better.

New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis, in a revealing July article entitled, "Where Power Lies," argued that "power does not reside only in the White House or government anymore." His worst nightmare, apparently. Instead, "those who seek to destroy faith in the American political system have considerable power now, power demanding attention." Lewis breathlessly explained that "Rush Limbaugh's game" is "to throw dirt on government and anyone who believes that society needs government. In his hateful talk about President and Mrs. Clinton and others in office, he is really trying to destroy public faith in our institutions."

The charge is preposterous. He admits he never listens to my program—"a pleasure I deny myself," as he puts it. As anyone in my audience will tell you, I defend the institutions and traditions which have made America great. But perhaps Mr. Lewis should go back and re-read some of his old columns for a clue about why Americans are so upset with government today. In 1992 he wrote: "Hyperbole is to be expected of politicians. But deliberate lies? I think that kind of politics has brought this country close to disbelief in its political system." He was referring, unconvincingly, to George Bush—but a reader can be forgiven if our current president springs to mind. And that is just it. Official deception and dissembling are responsible for Americans' growing anger and frustration with government. I simply shine the light of truth on it.

Lewis asserts: "Indeed, it is especially important to watch, and hold accountable, those who seek power without responsibility." Lewis was erroneously referring to me; the sentence accurately describes, however, Mrs. Clinton—who, unelected and unaccountable, has sought to reorder one-seventh of the American economy.



New Jersey Newsphotos

Rush Limbaugh: "You are free to turn me off; you can ignore me. But you cannot tune in to another administration, or turn off the one we have."

Clinton's Snow Job

Liberals are not upset because I am wrong; they are upset because I am right. Every day, I expose the Clinton Administration's real agenda: "How can we fool 'em today?" I ask, "Where is the soul of Bill Clinton?" I point out that under Clinton, achievement must be vilified; the rich must be punished. I warn people that liberals support government programs, because government money is the basis of their political power. These are things Americans suspect anyway, but they have trouble discerning the facts amid the fog created by the mainstream media. I sift through the morning's headlines, through miles of videotape, through books, articles, and speeches in a relentless pursuit of the truth. More often than not, I confirm their fears—the Clinton Administration is engaged in a massive snow job. That is validation.

The question, of course, is what people will do with truth once they have it. Liberals are absolutely convinced that I am always telling people to call Congress to complain about this issue or that (another erroneous FAIR charge). I did so once, simply to prove to a skeptical

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reporter what would happen if I actually did it. The calls shut down the Capitol Hill switchboard. The truth is, I don't need to urge people to call Congress. They are thoughtful, informed, serious people. That's why they listen to me. It is up to them to decide what to do with the truth. Some, I am sure, do call Congress. Others subscribe to conservative periodicals and read classic conservative

LIBERALS ARE NOT UPSET BECAUSE I AM WRONG; THEY ARE UPSET BECAUSE I AM RIGHT.

books, teach their children at home, write letters to the editor, run for school boards, and volunteer to work on local political campaigns or with a local charity. The possibilities for action and involvement are as unlimited as well-informed, optimistic citizens make them.

"I don't understand: Why does anyone take Rush Limbaugh seriously?" asked *USA Today* columnist Michael Gartner, proceeding to attack me for producing "a stew of half-truths and non-truths." It is not surprising that this former president of NBC is so baffled. He is, after all, a charter member of the media elite, kicked out of NBC after "Dateline" staged an explosion of a General Motors truck, and after a "Nightly News" report on environmental abuses ran footage of "dead" fish that turned out not to be dead. The answer to his question, however, is simple. People take me seriously because I am effective. I celebrate an America made great because of the extraordinary accomplishments of ordinary people—unlike the media, who promote the mistaken premise that the country's success stems from government programs. What I express is called belief in the American people, not contempt for them.

Fourth and finally, liberals fear me because I am not running for political office, and thus I am invulnerable to the political attacks of liberals. "Demagogues ... fizzle out because people weary of the act or because the political equation changes or because they face a real political challenge," insisted the *Nation's* Alexander Cockburn in a July *Los Angeles Times* column. "There's almost no one out there fighting the political battles with Limbaugh in language ordinary people can understand and enjoy." The same month, leftist columnist Lars-Erik Nelson lamented in the *Washington Post*, "There is no leftist equivalent to Rush Limbaugh."

Liberals treat me as if I were the Republican presidential candidate. But I have no interest in running for office. Why should I? I am setting the agenda right where I am—with something very simple: The truth. Liberals, who for so long have dominated the nation's institutions and who have tried so hard to dominate the nation's political agenda, flounder helplessly as a result. They understand how to fight a political challenge—war rooms, bus tours, direct mail, editorials, protests. They do not know how to fight a cultural challenge—the explosion of talk radio—except to try to regulate it out of existence (as in their attempts to revive the Fairness Doctrine, dubbed the "Hush Rush Bill" by the *Wall Street Journal*.)

What is actually happening now is a threat to liberal control of America's institutions. And this phenomenon is not a political one. The American people are discovering once again what the Founders always intended—that the country's future is in their hands. It depends on parents raising their children; it depends on teachers pushing these children to excellence; it depends on grandparents teaching these children the traditional lessons of morality and virtue; it depends on pastors, priests, and rabbis pointing these children to the God who loves them.

THE MOST DANGEROUS MAN IN AMERICA

That is not to say politics or the presidency is not important; it is. Washington takes too much of our money and our liberties and reinforces the dangerous myth that government can provide security and happiness and success. Yes, Americans need to send men and women of character to Washington and state capitals. But politics is not everything.

That is my message, and that is why I am dangerous. Neither the 1994 nor 1996 election results will serve as the sole indicators of the impact of my programs, because the battle is not simply for political control; it is for re-establishing control of America's institutions. And because I am affecting the debate on how that can be achieved, liberals are apoplectic.

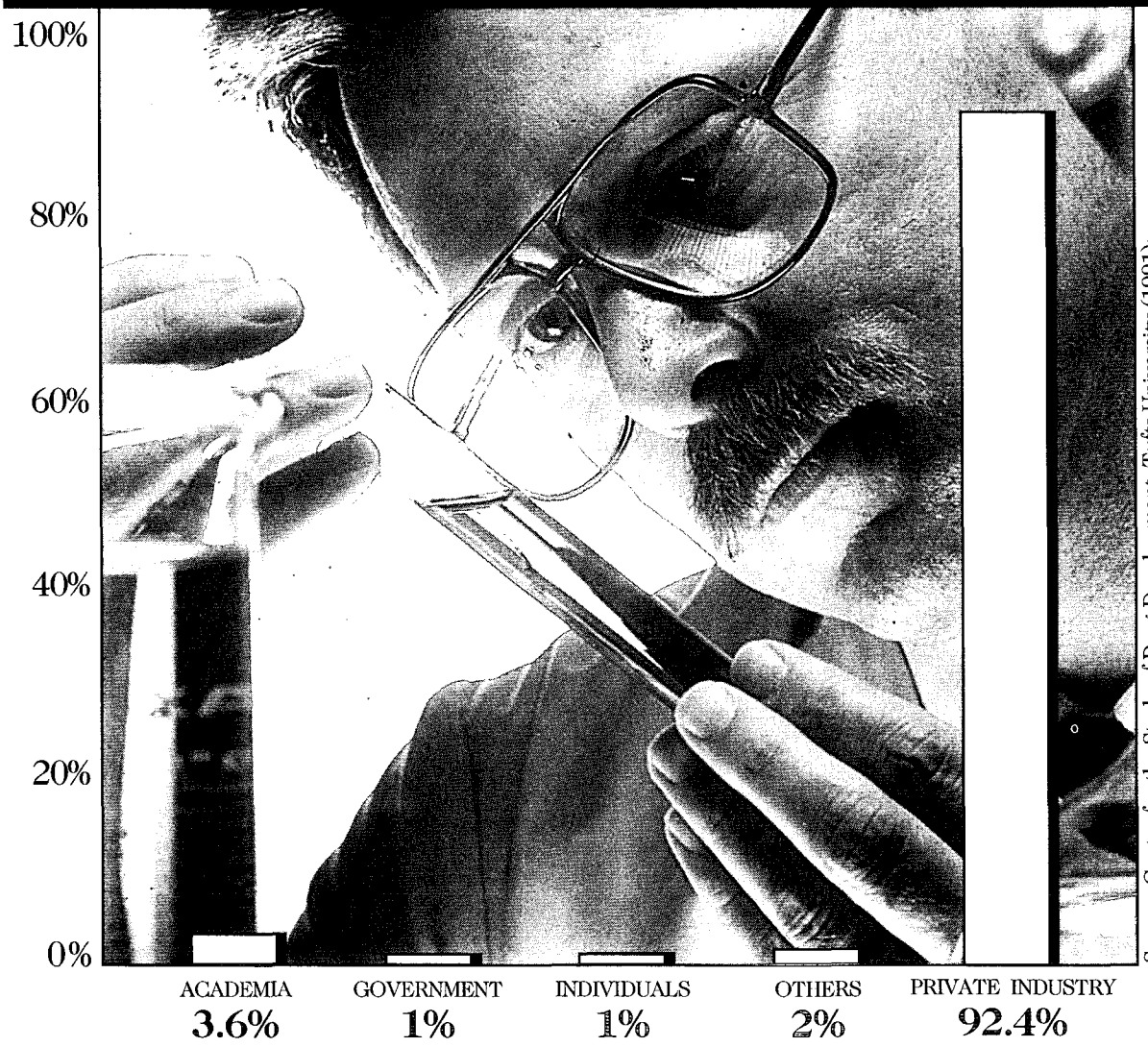
Many times I get calls on my show from people who rail against one liberal outrage or another and complain that the country is going down the tubes. That was certainly the reaction this summer as liberals fired their salvos at me and my audience. But actually, the liberal extremists may well be on their last legs. Their power source, the Democratic Party and its leadership, is woefully out of touch. They simply cannot extricate themselves from bondage; their power base is a constituency of victimhood. The shrill tone and apocalyptic hyperbole that characterize liberal attacks on me are instructive, speaking volumes about their fear of becoming irrelevant.

Historians will remember 1994 as a watershed year in American politics. This was the year that modern liberalism, the ideology dominating nearly every important cultural and political institution in the country, tipped its hand, revealing its deep insecurity. The summer of 1994 will be remembered as the season that liberals, acutely aware of the seismic rumbles just below the surface of American politics and society, unleashed their fury against a man who is neither a politician nor a candidate for political office. This was the summer all hell broke loose against the "most dangerous man in America."

Liberals are terrified of me. As well they should be. ☎

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If Drug Companies Weren't Discovering New Medicines, Where Would They All Come From?



Source: Center for the Study of Drug Development, Tufts University (1991); Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association Survey

A 1991 study by Tufts University shows that private industry was the source of more than 92 percent of new prescription drugs approved in the U.S. during 1981-1991, while the Government accounted for just one percent. And of the 100 most prescribed patented drugs in the U.S. in 1992, 99 were patented by private industry. For more information call the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association at 1-800-538-2692.

America's Pharmaceutical Research Companies

PhRMA 1100 Fifteenth Street, NW, Box RR, Washington, DC 20005. 1-800-538-2692.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Russia's Spiritual Wilderness

Freedom Cannot Take Root Without Moral Renewal

Barbara von der Heydt

Three years after the exhilarating collapse of centralized Communism, Russia still has a long way to go before it will be a free and democratic country. Even optimists claim the country borders on the ungovernable. Democratic reformers are paralyzed by division into competing factions in the parliament. The old *nomenklatura* still have a chokehold on the country; they have new business cards, but they are still in power.

While there has been enormous liberalization in elections, religious freedom, and privatization, there is still no rule of law, no clear definition of property rights, and in much of the country no real democracy. Bureaucratization is actually worse than it was under the Communists.

Mafia in the "Wild East"

Russian society has largely disintegrated to a Hobbesian rule. Organized crime touches at least half of all economic transactions. Criminals are in collusion with the old KGB and Communist Party structures, comprising a multi-level network known as the mafia. Some segments specialize in forging documents, reconnaissance, executions, or illegal currency transactions; others traffic in drugs and weapons. Competing gangs battle each other in shootouts, giving today's Russia its "Wild East" character. Those who refuse to do business with the mafia may discover their kiosk burned down the next day, a car bomb waiting for them, or an assassin's bullet.

Confiscatory tax rates have not only stunted entrepreneurial impulses, they serve as a serious inducement to tax evasion and collusion with the mafia. Businesses pay at least 55 percent of net income, and can incur rates as high as 120 percent. Members of law enforcement and tax collection agencies are paid off to collaborate, making an extremely effective net for coercing cooperation. A contract for mafia protection is cheaper and more reliable than counting on the corrupt police or the choked courts for justice. Mafia fees have become a normal price of doing business. But, "once you are in, the only way to end the relationship is to die," as one Russian put it baldly.

Faced with chaos bordering on anarchy, a quarter of Russia's voters chose ultra-nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky's party in the last election. He appealed to their frustration at the economic disintegration following Communism's collapse, as well as their yearning for respected status abroad. Alexander Solzhenitsyn has called Zhirinovsky "an evil caricature of a Russian patriot." His fisticuffs in parliament, bullyboy blustering, and threats to nuke enemies amuse Russians used to grey politicians.

But Zhirinovsky is not to be dismissed as merely a buffoon. Diplomatic sources and analysts from Russia, Germany and America have confirmed that Zhirinovsky did not simply appear like a comet on Russia's political horizon. In the last days of the Gorbachev era, substantial sums of money were reportedly funneled to establish his party as a new political home in the event that the communist structure would collapse. Indeed it did, and the allegations since of KGB funding refuse to go away. "Zhirinovsky was a KGB creature from the very outset," claims an official from Russia's Ministry of the Interior. Collaborating with the KGB are the old military-industrial complex, the core of directors of state-owned companies, and segments of the army, who have thrown their support behind Zhirinovsky to regain their old power.

Promising Signs

Even if, as observers predict, Zhirinovsky's personal popularity drops sharply, his fascist ideology has deep roots in the Russian population. Fascism's appeal, however, may diminish in the light of promising signs on Russia's economic horizon. Inflation, which threatened to escalate into hyperinflation, has been tamed to a monthly rate below 10 percent this July and August, down from last year's monthly high of 35 percent, defusing some of the more dangerous political volatility. Voucher privatization has put 60 percent of industry into private hands over the past two years. An entrepreneurial class is beginning to emerge, comprised of not only glitzy "New Russians," but also a growing middle-class with innovative ideas and a willingness to work. Whereas half the Russians were below the subsistence level last year, only one third are now.

The private sector is undoubtedly greater than the statistics indicate, as much of its activity is unreported. A

Barbara von der Heydt *of Cologne, Germany, is the author of* Candles Behind the Wall: Heroes of the Peaceful Revolution That Shattered Communism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

three-tier economy has evolved; a ruble economy, a dollar economy, and a barter economy. Progress has been made in capital markets, which have increased two-fold in the past two years. The real purchasing power of average Russians is increasing: A consumer basket that cost 90 percent of average monthly income in January 1992 cost only 26 percent last December. The market of 150 million Russians who have a pent-up demand for imported goods like food, clothes, and electronics, is attractive to foreign suppliers.

Yet progress is stalled because the old communist structures are still largely running the country. They were corrupt then, and still are. This fact has derailed many of the well-intended attempts at enterprise and aid, which have disappeared into black holes. J. Michael Waller reports that the former KGB is at the core of much organized crime. They have extensive contacts, experience, and substantial funds procured in the breakup of the old empire. Westerners have unwittingly pursued them; the Russian newspaper *Golos* reported that 80 percent of the joint ventures involve former KGB officers.

Many westerners are bitter because business deals and efforts to provide humanitarian aid have been derailed by corruption. There are many honest people, asserts Russian Orthodox priest Father George Tchistiakov, but "It's a mistake to go to the people at the top, a mistake many westerners have made. The people there are mostly holdovers from the communist structures. You have to go to the middle to find honest people—not the head of a hospital, but directly to a doctor, not to the Academy of Sciences, but directly to a scientist." Success is dependent upon the integrity of the partners.

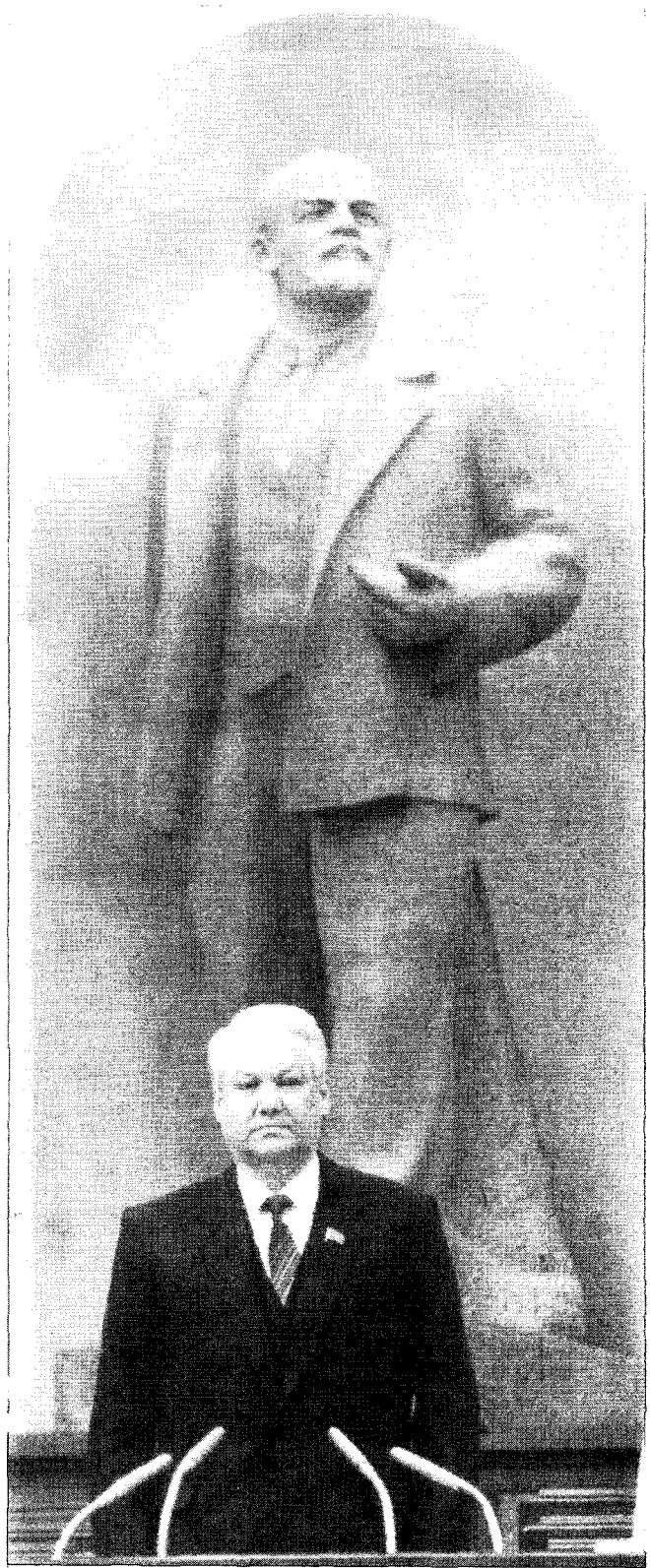
A Moral Vacuum

The political and economic reformers in Russia have failed to link arms with groups favoring moral renewal. Until they can make a common cause, their efforts will flounder. Americans have discovered that cooperation between social and economic conservatives is needed to come to power. This is even more true in Russia, where moral needs have overwhelmed the country, but failed to find a place on the political agenda.

The legacy of the collapse of Communism is a moral vacuum, say Russians virtually in unison. "What fills it will determine the future of Russia," says Russian Orthodox priest Alexander Borisov. Vitaly Zhurkin, director of the Institute of Europe, claims the biggest danger to Russia is "the collapse of the moral internal basis within the nation." "The moral problem is the main problem," concurs Vagan Gevorgian of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Whether or not the nation can build a new edifice based on democratic principles and a market economy will depend on whether it rests on a foundation of morality. If not, many Russians say prospects for lasting political and economic regeneration in their country are doubtful.

Mikhail Tarusin of the Public Opinion Foundation asserts that the institution of "democracy is not a source of value. It is only an outward form which can be used for good or evil. Hitler came to power democratically, and so could Zhirinovsky. If we don't have the moral tradition, we have no future."

The character of the citizens determines the character

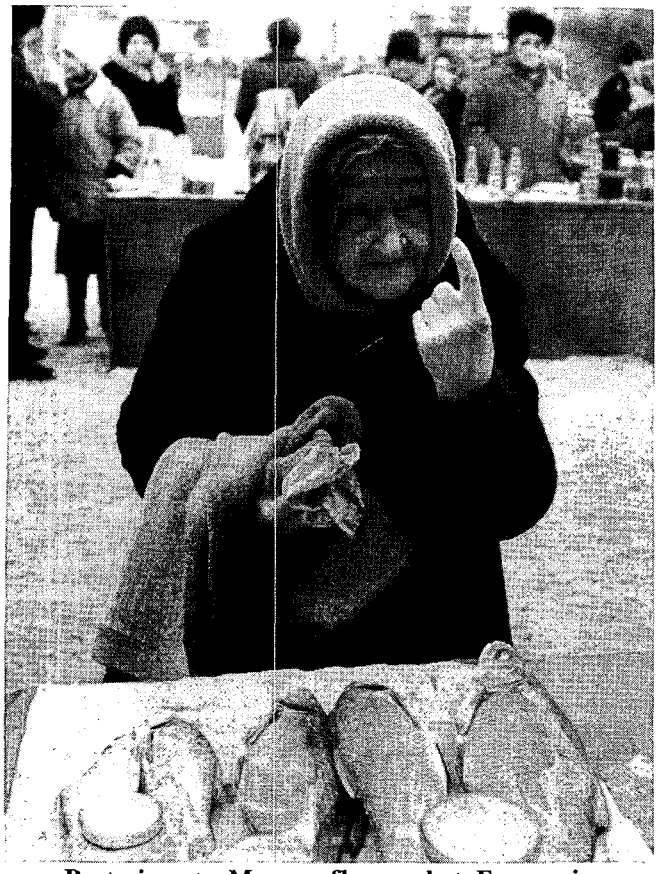


Reuters/Bettmann

Russian President Boris Yeltsin addressing the Russian parliament. Russia still has a long way to go before it will be a free and democratic country.

of a free country. Edmund Burke observed that those who are not governed from within must be governed from without. No laws can create good citizens or a good society. The institutions of democracy and a market econ-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Reuters/Bettmann

Bartering at a Moscow flea market. Economic liberalization has stalled because political and economic reformers have failed to link arms with groups favoring moral renewal.

omy, now planted in Russia, were first planted together in an experiment on American soil which had been prepared by centuries of development in Western civilization. As Russell Kirk eloquently explained in *The Roots of American Order*, the concepts of democracy from Greece, of civic virtue from Rome, and redemption and higher law embodied in Judeo-Christian teaching, merged with Anglo-Saxon common law, property rights and a market economy. These are all part of the intellectual and moral heritage which made the unique American flowering possible.

But it was always understood by the American Founding Fathers that the moral law written in the heart and the code of law written by a nation must be in harmony with a higher law. They are interdependent, just as freedom and responsibility must always be yoked together. Vaclav Havel underscored the point in his address July 4, in Philadelphia: "The Declaration of Independence... states that the Creator gave man the right to liberty. It seems man can realize that liberty only if he does not forget the One who endowed him with it."

The Culture of the Lie

In order for the institutions of democracy and a market economy to flourish, moral virtues which make their practice fruitful must also flourish. Only then can people live productively and responsibly in freedom. This is true of every free country, and these virtues must be engendered in Russia. Vladimir V. Ryakhovsky, president of the Christian Legal Center in Russia, makes the central point: "Neither social nor economic renewal can take place without spiritual renewal. It is all based on one foundation."

Communism's legacy is a poison in the character of its subjects. Living 70 years in what Alexander Solzhenitsyn called "the culture of the lie" has left a dark mark on the soul of the nation. Vaclav Havel addressed this in his New Year's speech of 1990: "The worst thing is that we are living in a decayed moral environment. We have become morally ill because we have become accustomed to saying one thing and thinking another.... None of us is merely a victim of it because all of us together helped to create it." It resulted in what George Weigel has identified as "a kind of moral schizophrenia," a line running down the center of each person. What one said depended on the circumstances or the person at hand. The moral and psychological poison of Communism still makes its former subjects ill, and they will take a long time to heal.

Law of the Jungle

Evidence of the moral crisis in Russia abounds. Criminal activity exploded once Communism collapsed. According to Evgueni Volk, director of The Heritage Foundation's Moscow office, 2 million crimes were reported last year, including 25,000 assassinations and half a million thefts. Reportedly, 250 cars are stolen daily in Moscow alone. Murders have increased by more than half since handguns have become available. Juvenile crime has increased by 300 percent. Since the privatization of apartments, 13,000 people have been killed by gangs who duped victims into signing documents transferring their property rights after their death. And probably only a fraction of actual crime is reported.

Under Communism people were restrained by the iron fist; with its removal, "now we have an undistorted picture of what our society is like," observes Alexander Tichonenko, General Director of the Uran Nuclear Society, who also represents Prison Fellowship International in Russia. He claims that at least 1 million prisoners are in detention facilities in Russia now, including 240,000 who have not been tried or convicted. More are being added each month. They can face a wait of two to four years in detention facilities so severely overfilled that prisoners in cramped cells can only sleep, stand, or sit alternating in three shifts.

However, Valery Orlov, the Deputy Director of the Russian prison system, claims that the wave of crime may have peaked last year. He contends that people who have never been taught that they are personally responsible for their actions have no inner compass to prohibit uncivilized behavior. The communist vision offered a "moral code and a strong state structure that kept order. Now that those have been destroyed, there's a moral vacuum. In a law abiding person, there is something holy. If it is absent, he turns to robbery, crime, violence, and murder, mainly for material gains. Such a person doesn't feel responsible for his own actions."

"The law of the jungle prevails" in the economy, says Michael Dmitriev, a brilliant 33-year-old economic advisor to Yegor Gaidar and a former St. Petersburg legislator,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

now joining Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs's new institute. He observes that illegal or immoral business transactions are not punished by ostracism or by the courts. Lying is a part of the fabric of society. "The moral crisis is profound," says Dmitriev. "The economic problems are not a crisis. Give us 10 years and we'll be a normal country. But the moral crisis is far more serious."

People who could never trust, who had reason to suspect everyone, including family members who might be reporting on them, find it difficult to trust today. Fear of being open was not paranoid, it was necessary for survival. People who for years were denied the opportunity to make decisions find it hard to choose. Initiative was not only discouraged, it was penalized. Now those who have never experienced risk-taking find it uncomfortable. Decades of dependency on the state monolith have bred passivity: decades of collectivism have dulled the sense of individual responsibility. Alexander Zaichenko, president of the Association for Christians in Business, put it this way: "Before, there was no perception of personal moral values.... We had group responsibility but personal irresponsibility."

While a few people have become wealthy by seizing the moment, most are significantly worse off materially than before the collapse of Communism. Many workers are unemployed, others have not been paid for months. Envy is common, and there is a widespread belief that wealth can only be accumulated at the expense of another, an impression sadly confirmed by the success of the most rapacious and least scrupulous. Many people throughout the former communist empire yearn for the old security of the "nanny state." Their subsistence was meager but certain. They had a job, a low-rent place to live, and cradle-to-grave security. The children of Communism have discovered that they are now free to fly, but also to fall.

A Lethal Legacy

The alarming disarray in Russian culture has lethal consequences. Mortality rose 20 percent in Russia last year; there were twice as many deaths as births. Entire segments of the health system have collapsed; patients die after operations because of the lack of bandages and antiseptics. Doctors claim they could save 60 percent of their patients if they had the needed medicine. More than half of Russia's deaths were due to non-natural causes; murders have increased by 60 percent. Alcoholism is rampant, and it kills increasingly. Russia has the highest abortion rate in the world—last year 3.3 million, or two abortions for each live birth. It is not unusual for a Russian woman to have had seven abortions, which they view as a means of birth control. Many women die when abortions are botched.

Although pensioners live at the edge of subsistence, there is a disproportionate rise of deaths among men of working age, according to the Fernand Braudel Institute of World Economics. Ella Pamfilova resigned in January as Minister for Social Protection, protesting that she "had been prevented from disclosing the 'suicide epidemic' among fathers unable to support their young families." Unclaimed corpses are stacked in morgues because relatives cannot afford the cost of a burial, which is more than a month's wages.

The country has been ravaged by mismanagement of resources, which has laid at least half of the former Soviet Union's cultivated soil fallow. Entire villages have been forced to resettle because they have become uninhabitable. The Chernobyl disaster is one which may well be repeated; poorly repaired nuclear power plants are ticking time bombs. Georgetown University demographer Murray Feshbach has concluded that more than 100 cities containing a population of 70 million people live in "atmospheric pollution that exceeds safe levels by a factor of five or more." Three-quarters of the water is contaminated. Feshbach reports that Moscow doctors claim one-fifth of all illness in Russia is attributable to pollution. Not only have trees, rivers, and fields been ravaged; poisoning of the water and food supply have been so acute in some regions that even mother's milk became toxic.

Spiritual Hunger

In the collapse of Communism and the chaos since, a great spiritual hunger has been unleashed. Those who are picking their way through the rubble now are hungry for permanent things. There have been widespread conversions, particularly among younger people; some call it a genuine revival of major magnitude. Churches are full

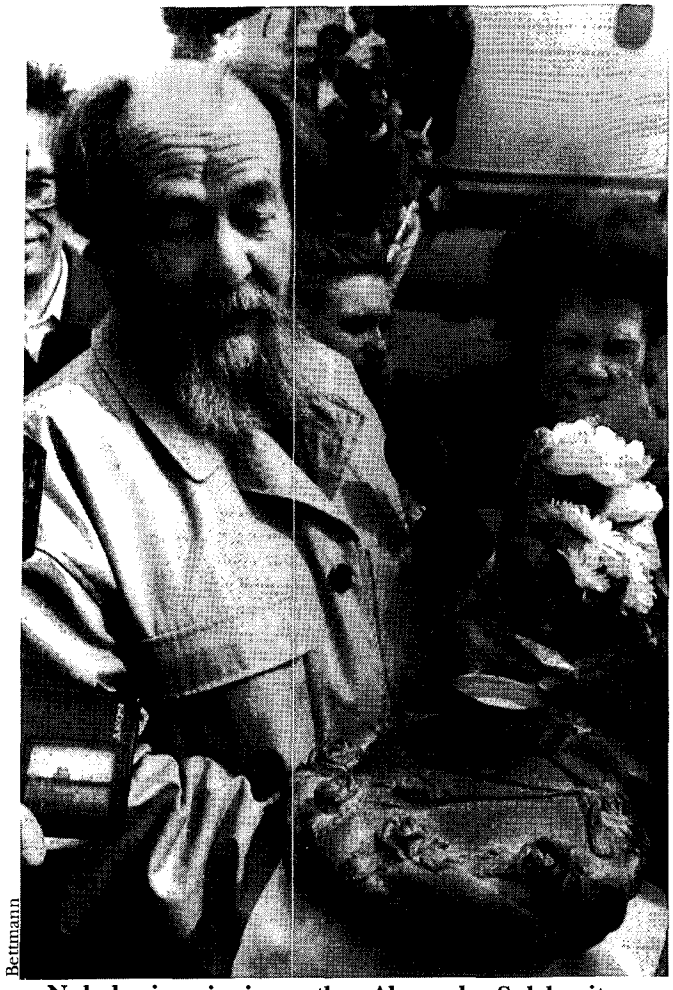
THE LEGACY OF THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM IS A MORAL VACUUM.

and clergy are in short supply. But people who have been denied all spiritual teaching for generations are easy prey for the sects that have descended on the streets. Such nontraditional religions as the Unification Church, the Hare Krishna, and the Church of Scientology, in addition to sorcerers, occultists, Satan worshippers, faith healers, psychic spoon benders, hypnotists and every manner of exotic apparition on the spiritual spectrum are present in full force. Just as a starving man will eat anything on a smorgasbord, some gullible Russians have discovered too late that some of these spiritual fruits will make them sick.

Unfortunately, the Russian Orthodox Church is poorly prepared to meet the spiritual hunger. Troubled by the past collusion of its highest church hierarchy with the old communist structure, it has yet to strip even the known KGB collaborators of their church functions. Moreover, there are strains of virulent nationalism and anti-semitism in segments of the church which are anything but signs of spiritual health. In the Russian Orthodox hierarchy, there is a clear hostility to religious pluralism.

The Russian Orthodox Church has collaborated with the powers that be since the times of the czars. A Cheka document dated 1921, unearthed in KGB archives, spells out the objective to "corrupt the Church from within." The means are spelled out unblushingly: naming people of weak character to positions of authority, manipulating them through coercion, blocking those less cooperative or moving them to the hinterlands. There were many who chose prison or death rather than compromise: Forty thousand Orthodox clergy were killed under the Com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


Bettmann

Nobel-prize winning author Alexander Solzhenitsyn returning to Russia after 20 years in exile. Solzhenitsyn has long claimed that the ills suffered by Russia have come "because men forgot God."

munists. Those who remained claim they made accommodations to survive. Arguably not everyone is born to be a martyr.

The Russian Orthodox Church abroad has delivered blistering criticism of the compromised hierarchy in Russia, who coolly reply that it is easy to criticize from a comfortable armchair in the safety of the West. There is no acknowledgment of the need for repentance. But the farther one goes from the patriarchal hierarchy, and the closer to individual parishioners and priests, the greater the thirst for purification and moral revival among the Orthodox.

"Men Forgot God"

Repentance is the precondition for renewal, claims Solzhenitsyn. As he writes in *From Under the Rubble*, "Only through the repentance of a multitude of people can the air and the soil of Russia be cleansed so that a new, healthy national life can grow up. We cannot raise a clean crop on a false, unsound, obdurate soil." Shortly after Communism collapsed, General Nikolai Stolyarov, who was named by Gorbachev as vice-chairman of the KGB after the attempted coup of 1991, met with a group of visiting westerners. Philip Yancey reports that Stolyarov surprised them by saying, "Political questions cannot be decided until there is sincere repentance, a return to faith by the people. That is the cross I must bear.... There can be no perestroika apart from repentance. The time has come to repent of that past. We have broken the Ten Commandments, and for this we pay today." The Americans hearing such a statement in the halls of the KGB were thunderstruck.

Solzhenitsyn has long claimed that the ills suffered by Russia have come "because men forgot God." The experiment of Communism was unique, the first attempt to fully eradicate God. Marxist ideology was not casually agnostic, but aggressively atheistic. It was a false religion, promising the perfected state of man, but stripped of transcendence. Because the battle was also a metaphysical one, as George Weigel, Timothy Garton Ash, and others have noted, resistance to Communism had to come from the realm of the spirit. Many people who resisted Communism did so for reasons of personal faith. Many sacrificed their chances for education and their careers; others went to prison. Untold numbers of the faithful died among the 60 million who lost their lives under Communism. Among those who survived were the leaders of the moral revolution which conquered Communism.

A moral and spiritual revolution preceded the political one throughout the entire East bloc, with a handful of courageous resisters leading the way. Beginning in Poland, then in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and elsewhere, a tiny remnant rooted in morality formed the basis of resistance movements which swelled, ultimately toppling the Berlin Wall. The collapse of the Soviet Union was not far behind as a moral, spiritual, and political earthquake rocked the entire continent. Today these resisters are the moral leaders of their countries, although only in Poland and the Czech Republic have they become major political leaders as well. In Russia, former dissidents are rare in positions of political power.

The Nation's Conscience

With the return of Alexander Solzhenitsyn to his homeland, some have placed great hope in his power to galvanize a moral revival in Russia. He has clearly stated he has no political ambitions, although he is being courted assiduously by various groups. Since his trumpeted arrival in Vladivostok, the reviews from his countrymen, as reported by the international press, have been mixed. Aleksandr A. Alyokhin, a 30-year-old merchant marine, said "If such people as Solzhenitsyn return to Russia, there is hope for its renewal, the renewal of its spiritual life." But Gavril Popov, former mayor of Moscow remarked, "He has come back a little too late." Journalist Grigori Amelin of the *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* groused, "Who needs Solzhenitsyn? No one," dismissing "the return of a living relic to the mausoleum of all the Russias."

Solzhenitsyn's books encouraged the moral fortitude of a generation. Valery Borschov was one man riveted by his words. "Solzhenitsyn's letter of 1974 made a great impression on me. He claimed if you want to live out the commandment not to lie, it demands sacrifice." Borschov paid the price of conflict with the KGB, which assaulted him physically. As a matter of conscience, he left his position as a writer for one of Russia's most influential

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

newspapers, painting bridges in Siberia and working in construction to survive. The former dissident has since been elected to the Duma, where he is now Deputy Chairman of the Committee for Religion and Charity, and one of the leaders of the Russian Christian Democratic Union. He is one of the rare exceptions, both a moral and a political leader. Borschov was there in Vladivostok to greet Solzhenitsyn on his arrival. But in contrast to Borschov, whose life was transformed by Solzhenitsyn's writing, many young Russians today do not know his books. Solzhenitsyn is apparently more widely known and respected in the West, a prophet not honored by all in his own country. But his voice is the greatest, perhaps the only one, capable of speaking as the nation's conscience.

Moral Renewers

Father Alexander Men, who has been called the C.S. Lewis of Russia, is a major figure on the intellectual and spiritual landscape of Russia. A brilliant Christian apologist, his 10 books are in the opinion of some Russians a powerful tool for sparking moral renewal. This Russian Orthodox priest, the friend of Andrei Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn, with a powerful intellect and a devoted following, shaped a generation of Russians spiritually. He was murdered with an axe, the Russian symbol of vengeance, on September 9, 1990, as perhaps the most recent Russian martyr. While his murder has still not been solved, some attribute it to a collaboration between the KGB and reactionary strains of the church opposed to his ecumenism or to his Jewish heritage. Mikhail Men, his son, has been elected to the Moscow Region Duma, its parliament, and continues in the legacy of his father's work.

Alexander Borisov is another Russian Orthodox priest who holds potential for kindling moral renewal in his country. The godson of Alexander Men, he is a biologist who turned to theology at age 33. He was blocked from ordination as a priest in the Russian Orthodox Church for 16 years for refusing to collaborate with the KGB. As a man of proven integrity, he was elected to the Moscow City Council in the first free elections in 1990. During the attempted coup of 1991, he was one of the resisters who went directly to the soldiers surrounding the building of Parliament and begged them not to obey orders to shoot. Beyond his parish responsibilities, Borisov is the president of the Bible Society in Russia and heads the Alexander Men Foundation. He does weekly radio broadcasts on moral and religious issues that are reaching nearly one million listeners. One popular program features live call-ins, with listeners posing questions on faith they were never permitted to ask before.

Many of Borisov's parishioners, under the leadership of Father George Tchistiakov, work with the Russian Children's Hospital in Moscow. Children and their parents come there from all over the former Soviet Union for highly specialized treatment, including blood diseases or kidney transplants, and must remain sometimes for several years. Parents are forced to take over the feeding and much of the care of the young patients, because in the wake of collapsed funding, the hospital cannot provide such services. Some parents cannot either. The parishioners adopt these families as their own, and virtually live among them.

This commitment is significant, not only for this parish, but for the country as a whole. Today there are increasing numbers of Christians in Russia who are reinvigorating the tradition of *miloserdiye*, or mercy, by putting their faith into practice. They are entering hospitals to tend the children of Chernobyl. They are feeding the homeless in soup kitchens, as does former prisoner of conscience Alexander Ogorodnikov in Moscow. They are filling some of the gaping holes left in caring for the weakest in a country where the state no longer can. Russia is discovering private solutions are both necessary and possible.

Reaching Out

Under the Communists, manifestations of living one's faith were limited to merely attending worship service. Charity and visitation of hospitals and prisons were forbidden and punishable. Some Christians, particularly Baptists, engaged in such activities anyway, risking fines or worse consequences. But such acts lie outside the Russian Orthodox tradition. As Mikhail Tarusin explained it, "We were used to the tradition to go to the church, but not to the tradition that the church goes out to the people." Now an outreach ministry is beginning, and may invigorate the Russian Orthodox Church at the grass-roots level. These small but important actions are the roots of a civil society.

Valery Orlov, Deputy Director of the Russian Prisons, was among initiators who invited Christians to make visi-

A MORAL AND SPIRITUAL REVOLUTION PRECEDED THE POLITICAL ONE THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE EAST BLOC, WITH A HANDFUL OF COURAGEOUS RESISTERS LEADING THE WAY.

tations in the prisons in the Gorbachev era, even before the law was changed in 1992 to permit such visits. Faced with an explosion in crime, desperately overcrowded facilities, and troubling recidivism, Orlov hoped the churches could somehow help. He has personally visited prison converts since and concluded, "I am sure they will not break the law when they are out. It's a pity there are very few of them."

There are a multiplicity of efforts to reinvigorate Russian society intellectually and ethically. Some 200 private educational institutions have sprung up in the past three years. New textbooks which incorporate moral teachings are being written for the entire Russian school system in a major project headed by Alexander Abramov. But western funds are still needed to print the books. Teachers are being invited into the schools to teach courses to children on morality. Award-winning television programming produced by "Freedom Channel-Persona," a group headed by former dissident Mikhail Kazachkov, stresses the moral foundation of a democracy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alexander Zaichenko is an economist and former advisor to Gorbachev who now heads the Association for Christians in Business. He is also co-founding the Russian-American Christian University in cooperation with the Coalition of Christian Colleges in the United States. Zaichenko sponsors seminars to teach skills to entrepreneurs, test them to determine their abilities, and advise them on how to start a business. His program has trained 1,000 applicants in the past year, half of whom succeeded in starting an enterprise, creating 2,000 new jobs. But the seminars also include a moral component, according to Zaichenko: "We tell them they must rely on good relations based on eternal moral values."

Zaichenko believes that "privatization will help build new moral and ethical standards, reinforcing the integrating factors in political life." As he puts it, "The first time a person has the chance to become an owner, it undermines the old slave mentality. When he has his own property, he acknowledges the need to care for the property of others. He experiences personal responsibility, and from that a sense of morality, and ultimately the Creator." Banks are more willing to lend to these entrepreneurs because the moral component is more likely to make them a reliable client.

Anatoly Pchelintsev is a dynamic 40-year-old lawyer and Lieutenant Colonel in the Army who founded an association for Christians in the military in 1991 called Faith and Courage. During the attempted coup of August 1991, he went to the parliament building to defend Russia's fledgling democracy, defying orders of his superiors.

THE SPIRITUAL FORTITUDE PRODUCED IN THE CRUCIBLE OF COMMUNISM IS LUMINOUS.

Having left the Army last November, he founded the Christian Legal Center. Pchelintsev, with his legal partners Vladimir Ryakhovsky and Sergej V. Tjurin, serve as consultants to the Duma, drafting new laws on freedom of conscience and religious issues. Their legal center defends victims of the abuse of religious and human rights throughout Russia. They have been deluged with pleas for help.

Renewers Under Attack

Sergei Kovalyov, a former dissident close to Sakharov and editor of the *samizdat* "Chronicle of Current Events," is a widely respected champion of morality and human rights and serves in Yeltsin's administration. Former dissident Valery Borschov, together with Vitaly Savitsky, heads the Russian Christian Democrat Union, which focuses on the need for civic virtue as well as reform policy. Joining them in the Duma is Gleb Yakunin, a Russian Orthodox priest who spent eight years in prison for documenting persecution of Christians under the Communists. Such political figures claim the moral high ground.

Unfortunately, Russians actively working for moral renewal in their country are in conflict with elements of the old guard. Alexander Zaichenko has been denied a passport to travel abroad twice this past year, and cannot leave the country. He was told that the KGB had blocked his application. Last October Anatoly Pchelintsev was placed under house arrest during the showdown between Yeltsin and the old Communists, to prevent his lending support to the reformers. He was threatened with a dishonorable discharge from the Army. In July, Father Alexander Borisov was attacked in the Moscow newspaper *Literaturnaya Rossiya* for making Catholic literature available among the offerings of his church, a move apparently intended to prod the Patriarch to take action against him. Other priests attacked similarly have been banished to the provinces as recently as February. Father Gleb Yakunin, who was elected to the Supreme Soviet in 1990, defied the Patriarch's new ban on clergy holding elected office, choosing to remain in the Duma. Yakunin was stripped of his clerical responsibilities last November.

There is not yet a broad coalition of figures committed to political reform who also have a vision of the necessity for moral renewal. These people are the exceptions. But until Russia's market reformers recognize the need to make moral renewal a part of their agenda, their efforts are doomed to fail. Without cultural regeneration, neither economic nor political reform will take root and bear fruit. Western advisors transferring democracy and the market economy without addressing the need for moral regeneration are just as short-sighted. Mikhail Dmitriev claims, "The people who make the reforms are more concerned with institutional changes, arguing that they will create a more friendly environment for moral changes." But moral and political change must be simultaneous.

Resisting Westernization

Despite his own agnosticism, Dmitriev claims that the only way to reform Russia, which he calls a "profoundly atheistic society," is to restore Christian values. But he makes the point that Orthodox values are pre-Reformation values, which are counter to markets and capitalism, condemning the accumulation of wealth and forbidding the taking of interest. "The Reformation never reached Russia, and this is the attitude which controls their attitudes to economic behavior. Orthodox values are not compatible with real market values." As reformers move ahead in the transition, some significant elements of the Russian Orthodox Church perceive a loss of Russian national identity in the westernizing reforms, and therefore oppose them. Dmitriev concludes Russia needs an infusion of Protestantism into Orthodox thinking on the market.

However, there is a great deal of resistance to westernization of Russia, not only in Russian Orthodox circles. Russian moral renewers believe they will succeed only if they can successfully appeal to the older virtues of Russian society, rather than trying to become a copy of the West. Mikhail Dmitriev makes the point that "Russians lost their national identity. The best way to restore ethical identity is to urge a return to the Russian tradition." It is embodied at its best in the literature of Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. Dmitriev contends, "We need to find a more organic Russian version accepted by the Russians, based on natu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ral law, civil virtue, and a return to national pride and public responsibility." This point may rankle some westerners, but it is repeated by many Russians. Western attempts to help have not always taken this attitude into account.

Cells of Civil Society

There are few Russians who form a bridge from the moral renewers in the private sector to the political world in their country, and to their counterparts in the West. What's more, many of the potential renewers do not know one another. In the course of helping newly-founded private organizations to obtain registration, Anatoly Pchelintsev has discovered cells of a civil society in Russia: Some 15 new associations have sprung up for Christians in business, in medicine, in the military, among farmers, students, and educators. There are more than 100 fledgling groups dealing with public policy, consumer information, and citizens initiatives.

From the West, nearly 700 church and parachurch organizations are trying to help the former Soviet Union, as are numerous government and private efforts. But for the most part, these people have no knowledge of each other or one another's work. Networking in the western sense is virtually nonexistent in Russia. What's more, there is animosity among Russians of differing persuasions and skepticism of the political world on the part of many people of faith. A mentality which quickly branded "enemies" before still does.

The Russian Orthodox Church is in a poor position to meet the Russian people's spiritual hunger. The Church has yet to strip even known KGB collaborators of their church functions.

Just as The Heritage Foundation has created a network, the Resource Bank, in which some 400 American conservative organizations share ideas and strategies, so too Russian democrats need a structure for cooperation between groups that understand the need for moral renewal as well as political reform. What the West can do is support these people and find others like them, and equip and enable them to do their work better. Contacts and opportunities for cooperation are needed as much as funding. The material needs of the country are so overwhelming that humanitarian aid alone can never meet them. The root causes have to be addressed, and Russians need to be equipped to manage their own resources and lives. Investments in human capital, training programs, higher education, and help toward self-help are most likely to yield long-term benefits. If the West supports healthy indigenous efforts and encourages self-reliance, renewers like these could prove to be the critical mass in revitalizing the moral landscape of Russia.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn has long cherished the notion of a self-sacrificing elite, not based on birth, wealth, or power, but on one's spiritual state. Those who survived Communism with their integrity intact are this spiritual elite. The spiritual fortitude produced in the crucible of Communism is luminous. The people possessing it are individual candles on an otherwise dark landscape. Just as a single candle causes much darkness to recede, so can a small number of moral renewers light the way for a free Russia to emerge from the wreckage of collapsed Communism with a new character.

As daunting as the economic and political tasks are, reforming the character of the nation's soul is far harder yet. But in the absence of such a moral transformation, there can be no lasting economic or political reform. The destruction of the Russian soul was so devastating that it will take years for the country to find its compass. A free and stable Russia cannot emerge immediately. Indeed, it may take more than a generation. The children of Israel wandered 40 years in the wilderness, unlearning the traits of slavery in Egypt before entering the Promised Land. Russians may be entering their wilderness years in their exodus from the slavery of Communism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reel Politik

Great Conservative Cinema

Michael Smith

Few institutions exert more influence over American popular culture than the wildly successful Hollywood dream factory. At the same time, many fret over the collapsing moral standards in our culture and accuse the film industry of being a relentless repeat offender. Earthquakes, mudslides, fires, riots, O.J. and Ford Broncos—can anything good come out of Southern California and its cinema empire?

The answer is a robust "Yes." There is still much to be admired in our movie-going society, films that challenge us to excellence, inspire us to heroism, shame our consciences, and stir us toward a life-engaging faith.

The following viewer's guide reflects some of the best classic and contemporary titles available, films that typify the traditional values of faith, family, and freedom. The guide is selective: You'll find films that 1) you have not seen before, or 2) that you have not seen since the advent of microwave popcorn, or 3) that you may not have considered from the, well, unique perspective of our reviews. We welcome your suggestions; write and let us know your own favorites.

ACHIEVEMENT

Relying on role models, moral courage, or faith, these *bildungsromans* have—at their core—characters determined to succeed despite vast opposition.

Elephant Man This haunting and beautiful film from director David Lynch portrays a doctor's (Anthony Hopkins) dogged efforts to rescue a disfigured man from the life of circus freak. But it exposes so much more: the narrowness of elitist values, the human spirit transformed through adversity, and the sustaining power of faith. By the time John Hurt's Elephant Man recites the 23rd Psalm, your heart is in your throat. A masterpiece on almost every level.

Man Without a Face A mysterious, disfigured recluse (Mel Gibson) becomes an unlikely mentor to a fatherless boy who wants to be a pilot but lacks the discipline and motivation. Together, the two discover the value of friendship and learn to sacrifice, compromise, and mature. Gibson's directorial debut works best at the male-bonding level, providing thoughtful entertainment.

My Left Foot With the help of family, a perceptive therapist, and his irrepressible will, cerebral palsy victim Christy Brown reminds us that human achievement has more to do with heart than it does with circumstances. Christy, played by Daniel Day-Lewis in an Oscar-winning performance, is nearly completely debilitated at birth and quickly labeled hopelessly uneducable. But Christy has a good left foot, and he uses it to paint, write, and otherwise give expression to his brilliant mind. Revealed through flashbacks, the film touchingly leads to a surprise and triumphant ending.

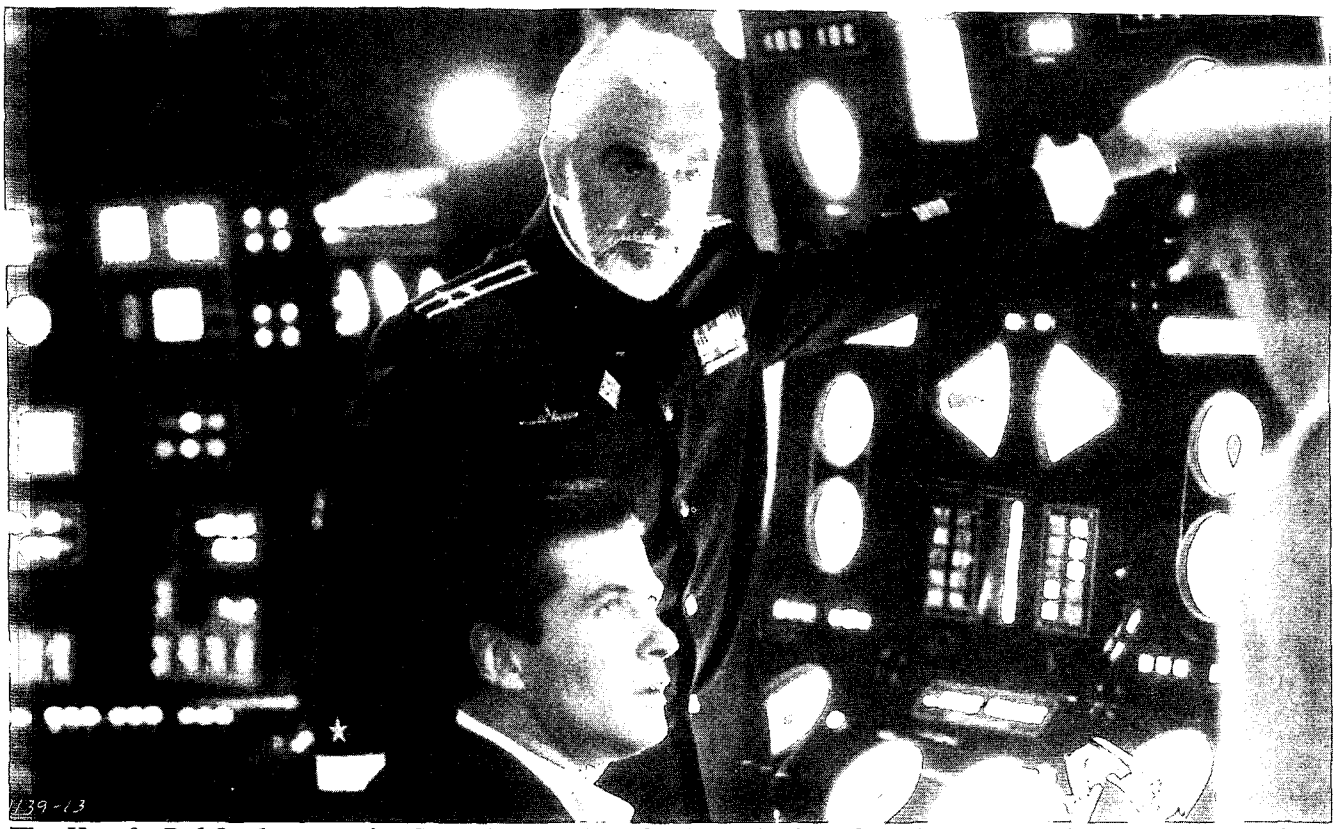
An Officer and a Gentleman The Navy tames a working-class playboy. Richard Gere stars as a symbol of American youth and independence (with motorcycle, of course) who learns to be a team player, with a little help both from his drill master and his girlfriend. The military routine marries his raw determination to self-discipline, duty, honor, and, by film's end, domestication. A dramatic display of the great forces that challenge a youth to grow into manhood.

The Right Stuff A look at NASA's fly-boys, whose eyes were fixed ultimately on the moon. The Mercury astronauts fight to keep control of their spacecrafts and their personal lives as scientists and the media threaten to reduce them to lab monkeys. In Chuck Yeager—"the best pilot anyone had ever seen"—we witness most clearly the unique American blending of competitiveness, guts, and Yankee ingenuity.

Rocky "It doesn't matter if I lose this fight. All I want to do is go the distance," says Rocky Balboa (Sylvester Stallone), an underground Philadelphia boxer who gets a shot at the title. Rocky is the big lug everybody loves, who visits pet stores and tries to be a role model for the kids, as best as a loan shark's goon can. While opponent Apollo Creed and the media exploit the event, Rocky trains alone, refusing to get caught up in anything but the task before him. He goes the distance, becoming a larger-than-life inspiration to American film.

Michael Smith *is a senior at Wheaton College, where he is editor of* The Independent *and an avid movie fan.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Photofest

The *Hunt for Red October*—starring Sean Connery (standing) as a Soviet submarine commander and Alec Baldwin as a crafty CIA agent—pits Soviet bureaucracy against American guts and ingenuity in a classic Cold War thriller.

RUDY In the working-class steel towns of the Midwest few kids dare dream of going to college, much less to Notre Dame. But Rudy—despite his small size, low grades, and even lower expectations from friends and family—vows to suit up with the mythic football champs. He throws his heart into every class, every practice, every tackle, and silences the nattering nabobs. From the makers of "Hoosiers" comes this inspiring, true story.

STAND AND DELIVER True story about a teacher who fights the public school establishment that doesn't think Hispanic kids can learn. Edward James Olmos stars as Jaime Escalante, the maverick who, amid the crime and gang wars of East Los Angeles, creates an AP calculus program that turns street urchins into math whizzes. Escalante's expect-more-not-less teaching style almost breaks the students, families, and teacher.

COMMUNISM

There will always be those individuals who resist the communist principle—the impulse to use the machinery of the state to repress, manipulate, and control.

FAHRENHEIT 451 Ray Bradbury's science fiction novel about a world that outlaws books becomes a powerful monition against communist notions of equality. Montag (Oskar Werner) is a fireman by trade—a book burner—but a rebel at heart. He must confront both a superior who fears the power of books to elevate men, and his wife (Julie Christie) and cohorts, who are being lulled by their TV sets into adolescent preoccupations. Francois Truffaut's first English-language film is a directorial gem that makes the possibility of mass mindlessness frighteningly real.

HUNT FOR RED OCTOBER If for no other reason, Tom Clancy's bestseller about a Soviet submarine captain (Sean Connery) trying to defect is notable for being the last Cold War film made while there still was a Cold War to worry about. Connery's Captain Ramius is the sort of freedom-hungry renegade that communism cannot sanction. The hunt boils down to a contest between the too-rigid, top-down Soviet bureaucracy, and the ruggedly independent, innovative Americans, led by risk-it-all patriot Jack Ryan (Alec Baldwin). A thrilling and polished production.

INVASION OF THE BODY SNATCHERS While Alger Hiss and the boys were infiltrating various levels of national government, this science fiction thriller about space invaders seizing human bodies typified Cold War anxieties. A small-town doctor notices an unsettling blandness about his patients and uncovers an extraterrestrial plot to clone humans into an untroubled—and uncaring—world without emotion, love, or individuality. As cinematic entertainment goes, pure schlock, but a fun glimpse at political allegory.

MANCHURIAN CANDIDATE This psychological thriller issues a red alert to the dehumanizing effect of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photofest

Marlon Brando (left) as dockworker Terry Maloy, who betrays the union mob in *On The Waterfront.*

communist ideology, set amid the Cold War fear of high-level communist infiltration. Captured during the Korean War, U.S. war hero Raymond Shaw (Laurence Harvey) is brainwashed into becoming a presidential assassin. Frank Sinatra does a fine turn as the savvy officer who tries to stop him. Shaw becomes a tragic symbol of East-West tension: the coercive power of the state vs. the integrity of the individual.

Torn Curtain In East Germany, lousy coffee and bad cigarettes serve as daily reminders of the practical failures of communism to deliver on its promises. They also prod an eccentric Polish woman to help scientist Paul Newman and love interest Julie Andrews slip over the wall. Another entertaining Hitchcock thriller.

CONSCIENCE

C.S. Lewis said our innate moral sense offered "the clue to the meaning of the universe," for it seems we simultaneously can't live with it and can't live without it.

Crimes and Misdemeanors Woody Allen's most desperate attempt to believe in God, this film poignantly underscores the Dostoevsky dictum—"When there is no God, all things are permissible." Judah Rosenthal (Martin Landau) arranges the death of his mistress to save his marriage. What he really arranges is the death of his conscience: "God is a luxury I can't afford." Allen is unable to persuade Rosenthal, or himself, that conscience is one of God's imprints on the human soul. Still, the film affirms the pointlessness of moral choices apart from faith in a moral God.

High Plains Drifter Clint Eastwood plays—what else—a gunslinger with no name who helps a small town exterminate a band of outlaws. But at the heart of this Western is some very useful philosophy, namely, that obedience to conscience is what saves a civilization from demise, in good times and bad. The townspeople watch idly as marauding bad guys murder their marshall. Enter Eastwood, the hired gun who teaches these slackers to stiffen their moral spines. He renames the town Hell and brings judgment on all those who buried their conscience. Full of witty one-liners, the film is a step above typical revenge-film stock.

I Confess In one of Hitchcock's lesser known films, a priest preserves his promise and his conscience by keeping a confession confidential, even though it makes him the prime suspect for a murder. Vintage Hitchcock,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the question is not whodunit, but how will justice be served? The priest must face not only the suspicions surrounding his silence, but the malicious investigation of his past. Plenty of suspense.

THE INFORMER Liam O'Flattery's story of the snowball effect of a guilty conscience, with its endless cycle of deceit and revenge, is masterfully adapted for the screen by John Ford. During the Irish rebellion of the 1920s, Gypo Nolan informs on a fellow Irishman to the British, and then tries to cover his tracks by lying to his friends. Hunted by the Irish Republican Army, Gypo can find mercy nowhere—until he confronts the mother of the man he betrayed. The film's cinematography, with its crowded pubs, city streets, and dark corners, hauntingly captures the snarled mind of the informer. Oscars for actor, director, screenplay, and score.

A MAN FOR ALL SEASONS Henry VIII's break with the Church of Rome provides the backdrop for this tale of one man's conscience wrestling against the mightiest political pressures of his day. The king's advisor, Thomas More (Paul Scofield), refuses to sanction Henry's divorce and subsequent rift from the Holy See, putting his liberty and his life at risk. Though begged by his friends to give up his "moral squint" and use "common sense," More remains a humble fortress of stubborn commitment to serve God above all else. Fred Zinnemann transforms the play into a classy British cinema, with superb performances from all.

MR. SMITH GOES TO WASHINGTON The story of how one man's integrity puts the U.S. Senate on trial for its life. Jimmy Stewart plays a painfully honest, wide-eyed, patriotic Boy Ranger who becomes a senator and uncovers a plot to defraud his state, the Senate, and himself. With a little help from Jean Arthur, Stewart launches into a filibuster that cracks the conscience of the corrupt powerbrokers. See this one before you decide not to vote in the next election.

ON THE WATERFRONT Marlon Brando gives his most mumbling, memorable, Oscar-winning, "I-coulda-bin-a-contenda" performance as Terry Maloy, ex-prize fighter with a conscience that will go 15 rounds, even if it kills him. Dockworker Maloy gets wedged between his loyalty to a corrupt union boss and his love for a woman (Eva Marie Saint), whose brother got bumped off by the waterfront goon squad. Maloy turns canary, the unforgivable sin, and it's showdown time on the waterfront.

Jaime Escalante (Edward James Olmos) turns Los Angeles gang members into calculus wizards in the inspiring true story *Stand and Deliver*.

Photofest

ROPE Two prep-school buddies decide to murder a man and throw a dinner party amid his concealed body to prove they are beyond the reaches of ordinary morality. But they don't count on professor Jimmy Stewart exposing their theories about "superior beings" for what they are—an affront to the God-given moral laws of a civilized society. Produced soon after disclosure of Nazi eugenics experiments, this Hitchcock sleeper reveals the hazards of constructing society merely on individual notions of the good.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP

The mere possibility of success often drives the risk-takers and achievers among us to fight an uphill battle to reach our goals.

BABY BOOM Diane Keaton's high-powered career is careening for disaster after she inherits her deceased cousin's baby—until she mingles motherhood with business sense. Harassed by her boss and her boyfriend, she quits the firm to raise the child. But she can't quit using her creative side, and she finds a way to make her baby her business. With enough ingenuity, and with Sam Shepherd, maybe you really can have it all.

BOOMTOWN As if more needed to be said than Clark Gable, Spencer Tracy, Hedy Lamar, and Claudette Col-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photofest

Indiana Jones (Harrison Ford) outwits snakes, Nazis, and even gets the girl in *Raiders of the Lost Ark*.

bert, this merry-go-round of fast-talking oil drillers mixes the pursuit of love with the pursuit of black gold and business success. Like most classics, everything comes out fine in the wash.

THE FOUNTAINHEAD Though Ayn Rand's brand of individualism can easily lapse into egoism, you'll find yourself rooting for maverick architect Howard Roark (Gary Cooper) in this film adaptation of Rand's novel. Roark's unconventional designs spark outrage among his peers, who are too wedded to the "soul-less robots" of society to take a risk. A classic story of society's great achievers who swim against the cultural tide.

IT'S A WONDERFUL LIFE Every time a bell rings, someone watches this movie for its Capra-corny approach to faith, family, and small-town America. But near the heart of this film is George Bailey's entrepreneurial vision—remember, he wants affordable housing for Bedford Falls—that is simultaneously stifled and enriched by his unshakable good will toward men. Remember, too, it was George's business savvy that kept the family savings and loan, and the entire town, from succumbing to the chokehold of Pottersville. See this one again through George's eyes of faith—a faith in people's potential to create and provide for themselves and their families.

RAIDERS OF THE LOST ARK The spark of this film is easily overlooked: the classic, competitive entrepreneurial spirit. Soon to become the 1980s most popular hero, Indiana Jones (Harrison Ford) endures everything from snakes to the wrath of God to outwit his archrivals, the Nazis, for the Ark of the Covenant. Indy applies his best attributes (risk-taking, ingenuity, determination, moral courage) to acquire the Ark—and in the end, is the only one who respects its spiritual significance.

RED RIVER Howard Hawks is credited with making "the classic" in every film genre. In Red River, he ropes a classic Western, and who else should star but John Wayne. Wayne plays Thomas Dunson, a red-blooded American who ain't afraid of red meat. Dunson heads to Texas with one bull, one cow, and a dream of beef—"enough for a whole nation. To make 'em strong. To make 'em grow." Ten years later Dunson must get the fruits of his labor to a hungry market, and leads a 9,000-strong cattle drive across treacherous land to Missouri.

SHANE It's the farm families vs. a corrupt rancher monopolist who tries to buy them out. But it's one of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

those offers they don't dare refuse. Enter Shane (Alan Ladd), who fights for the farmers and their right to own and work their land. Russian peasants could've used this guy back in 1917. Jack Palance delivers a noteworthy performance as the evil gun-for-hire.

WORKING GIRL What's conservative about a "head for business and a bod for sin"? Well, Melanie Griffith's Tess McGill, a secretary fighting for a chance to put her marketing instincts to work. In the process she assumes a new identity, crashes weddings, steals back ideas stolen from her, and does an end-run around her turf- and man-hungry boss, Sigourney Weaver. She also picks up Harrison Ford to help make her business dreams come true. An energetic film with rare performances from a top-notch cast.

FAITH

Religious faith is often accused of being too otherworldly to be of any earthly good. But traditional, biblical faith always leads to moral action, to active engagement in the here and now.

AFRICAN QUEEN Katharine Hepburn as a proper British missionary and Humphrey Bogart as a gin-drenched river-boat captain bring together the power of patriotism, love, and faith. Naturally, these opposites attract, fall in love, and make a daring attempt to sink a German boat. But they are nearly overwhelmed by difficulties (leeches included) until Hepburn's faith pulls them through with a prayer that they be judged for their love, not their weaknesses. Bogie got an Oscar for this one.

BABETTE'S FEAST "In this beautiful world of ours, all things are possible." And so this film expresses the empowering beauty of faith that leads one to say "I want a chance to do my best." Babette is a servant who lives with two elderly women in Jutland, Denmark who have long believed that faith requires one to go without, rather than to celebrate. But when Babette makes an exquisite French dinner, she raises this earthy pleasure to a spiritual experience.

CHARIOTS OF FIRE This true story of 1924 Olympic runner Eric Liddell, whose religious convictions prevent him from competing on the Sabbath, is practically the cinematic incarnation of uncompromised faith. The film wonderfully contrasts the motives of two competitors: Liddell, the Christian, runs for God's honor ("The Lord made me fast, and when I run I feel his pleasure.") Harold Abrams, the atheist, runs for himself ("I have eight seconds to justify my existence.")Powerful moments of intense competition are accented by excellent cinematography, scenery, and stirring music from Vangelis.

JEAN DE FLORETTE, MANON OF THE SPRING Nuanced yet witty tales of how an agnostic and greedy family comes to know the necessity of the command to "Love thy neighbor." A young man wants to start a carnation farm

Photofest

Jeremy Irons plays a Spanish Jesuit determined to protect his South American followers from slave traders in *The Mission*.

and enlists his uncle to help destroy the prospects of the neighbor's farm owner, a hunchback, by plugging up his only source of water. The man gets his carnation farm, but the malicious prank leads to mortal disaster. In the sequel, the hunchback's daughter uncovers the plot against her father, and what goes around comes around: Tragedy strikes the young man and his uncle, compelling them to face the horrible consequences of their immoral deeds. A terrible fate leads the uncle to accept the faith he so long rejected.

THE MISSION An intricate adaptation of a true story about Spanish Jesuits determined to protect their South American mission from Portuguese slave traders. The Catholic mission is the last refuge for the dignity and safety of the local converts, who are caught up in 18th century imperial muscle-flexing. Ironically, the shared faith of two missionaries (Robert DeNiro and Jeremy Irons) propels each of them on a different course—one chooses pacifism, the other violence. A beautiful film on every level.

PLACES IN THE HEART A story about the power of faith to bring the seemingly impossible within reach—in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photofest

Katharine Hepburn and Humphrey Bogart share adventure and renew their faith in the *African Queen*.

this case, the moral welfare of racially divided Waxahachie, Texas. Sally Field plays a woman who must support her family during the Depression after her husband is killed by a young black man. She hires a hobo (Danny Glover) and the two set out to farm cotton. In the end, it is the town's church community that unites these diverse and desperate people.

SHADOWLANDS This film, based on the true story of Christian author C.S. Lewis and his marriage to Joy Gresham, bravely—yet cautiously—probes the reconciliation of faith to suffering. Anthony Hopkins plays the Oxford professor who routinely lectures on the redemptive role of suffering, and then angrily confronts his God when his wife (played by a sly Debra Winger) is diagnosed with cancer. Richard Attenborough's first-class production draws the marrow out of this touching story, reminding that a good God can still be in His Heaven, even when not everything is right with the world.

STAR WARS TRILOGY George Lucas's futuristic saga derives its popularity as much from its extension of Judeo-Christian themes as it does from special-effects magic. It's a universal fairy tale about the struggle to achieve maturity, independence, moral courage, and a pure faith. Luke Skywalker becomes the last of the order of Jedi knights, empowered by "The Force" with safeguarding the moral order of the universe. This includes battling the evil galactic empire; rescuing a beautiful princess; and going toe-to-toe against Darth Vader, a fallen Jedi. Not bad for a tender teenager. A reminder that faith in unseen things need not be a confining obstruction, but a liberating force for good.

STRANGE CARGO "There's nothing worth stealing around here except freedom," declares Clark Gable as a tough, self-determined prisoner who leads an escape from Devil's Island. Gable and the others, however, get some lessons in liberty from a mysterious Christ figure, whose selflessness shames them into rethinking their hell-bent ways. Gable and love-interest Joan Crawford, with vintage punchy dialogue, exchange emotional jabs. Starving at sea, they learn that true freedom comes from a clean conscience and a humble faith.

FAMILY

When the family—the building block of society—is strong, life's burdens are bearable. When it is under attack, chaos is not far behind.

ALIEN TRILOGY And you thought these films were only about space alien eating machines. Though these sci-fi adventures offer some of the best suspense in recent cinema, they also illuminate the hidden dangers of supplanting the family with a tyrannical, top-down, technocratic society. At the center of the conflict is the natural cell of society, the family. It is replaced by an automated ship that controls the lives of its inhabitants. The ship's computer is even called "mother." (Conservative theorist Russell Kirk, always wary of technology's impact on traditional society, would say "I told you so.") In the second film, pioneer families are sacrificed on a desolate planet in order to study the organically perfected killer aliens.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photofest

The heroes of George Lucas's *Star Wars* trilogy, who fight the tyranny of the evil galactic empire with courage, skill, and great special effects.

The story's hero, Sigourney Weaver, must do battle not only with the alien threat, but the bureaucrats who have patched together this feeble fabric of a society. Weaver's attractiveness lies precisely in her devotion to the bonds between people (she becomes a foster parent to an orphaned girl), ahead of machines, research, and contracts. Too easily dismissed as a techno-action fest, these films deserve a closer look.

BEST YEARS OF OUR LIVES Three World War II vets return from the war to find themselves feeling like aliens in their own homes, until they rediscover the joys derived from the commitment and sacrifices of family life. With their battle wounds hardly healed, the men support each other through job problems and marriage problems. Like many films of its day, the story focuses on the American home as the real kingdom that was defended in war. A well-acted picture, it captured numerous Oscars.

THE CHOSEN Children's rights activists won't like this one: A story about a couple of Jewish boys in New York who are willing to tailor their friendship in obedience to their fathers. And the dads aren't even buffoons! One of them is a Hasidic rabbi whose conservatism makes him wary of his liberal, Zionist-activist neighbor. The boys work it out, stay friends, and learn that obeying authority can be a catalyst for real independence.

ELENI Based on a true story of the Greek civil war, this film about a journalist who hunts for the communist who killed his mother is disguised as a tale of revenge. It's really about family. The film weaves together the story of Nick's (John Malkovich) childhood with the manhunt, making for a taut drama. As the past and present collide, Nick realizes the depth of his mother's commitment to her family.

GODFATHER TRILOGY An all-American tale of Italian immigrants who founded an empire in the new world, these films underscore family values by negation. Michael Corleone (Al Pacino) wants to marry (Diane Keaton) and stay out of the mafia. Not so easy. Francis Coppola's masterpiece traces the decay of an honest man into an amoral, ruthless killer who forces his own family members outside his fold of protection. When he finally goes legit, he pays a high price for neglecting family and conscience. As you watch this Oscar-winning trilogy, boil some linguini, brew a pot of espresso, and consider your own family squabbles a stroll through the *piazza.*

I REMEMBER MAMA If you should happen to forget Mother's Day, redeem yourself promptly by buying mom this melodrama classic about a struggling Norwegian family in San Francisco. Yep, self-sacrificing Mama is at the center of the story, saving the day countless times, even sneaking into hospitals to visit her sick child. Considered a must-see by classic film buffs.

PEGGY SUE GOT MARRIED This thoroughly entertaining picture about hanging tough through a dilapidated marriage won't sit well with a "divorce first, ask questions later" generation. Kathleen Turner stars as Peggy Sue, whose relationship with her unfaithful but charmingly weird husband (Nicolas Cage) is headed for a meltdown. By a mysterious accident, Peggy Sue goes back to her 1950s high school days, and gets a chance to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photofest

Kirk Douglas as *Spartacus* rallies his troops: "Death is the only freedom a slave knows. That's why he is not afraid of it. That's why we'll win." Watch out, Pax Romana.

start a new life. But she realizes she can't just walk away from her vows and her family. A very uplifting film.

A River Runs Through It This film about a Presbyterian family in Montana opens thus: "In our family there was no clear line between religion and fly fishing." Other lines get blurred as well. Norman MacLean watches his brother break free of the regular, almost religious, rhythms of his family into a rhythm of his own. And what he realizes is that those we live with are the ones we should know the best, but often they elude us. Award-winning cinematography help make this a film that reverently explores the mysterious forces that empower family love.

Tender Mercies Ex-country singer Mac Sledge (Robert Duvall) has been divorced twice and hung out to dry by the music industry. He seems ready for a simpler but better life when he marries a young widow (Tess Harper). But then it comes: a chance to get back in the spotlight. Mac isn't biting—"I don't trust happiness"—and instead finds faith, becomes a father, and mentors a small band. Lesson: Making do with the tender mercies of family can supply the deepest blessings we really seek.

FREEDOM

No matter what the risks or how oppressive the society, the enslaved will always dream and plot and bleed for freedom.

Casablanca As time goes by, this near-perfect classic impresses not only as a love story, but as a patriotic "No!" against assimilation into a heartless regime. Humphrey Bogart plays an American caught in the eye of the Nazi storm, running a Moroccan cafe where refugees barter for visas and freedom. His cynical shell gets punctured when he must choose between love and the larger cause of liberating Europe from the Germans. A breathtaking Ingrid Bergman makes it a tough choice. A bracing story of conscience and courage, here's looking at you, kid—again.

Cry Freedom This story of Stephen Biko's non-violent struggle for equality in South Africa should be required viewing in an America becoming more tribal and more violent every day. Denzel Washington plays the soon-to-be-martyred Biko, who tempers the thirst of his fellow freedom fighters for mob justice against oppression. Kevin Kline is journalist Donald Woods, who risks everything to publish the story of Biko's murder. A true story, this Attenborough effort is carried by soaring South African music.

Gorky Park On the trail of the man who murdered three would-be defectors, a Soviet captain (William Hurt) learns to value freedom above all. In his pursuit of the killer, Hurt uncovers KGB corruption and a plot to kill the woman he loves. He is ready to be tortured so she can escape to freedom; she is ready to be imprisoned to remain with him behind the Iron Curtain. Plot swerves to keep you guessing how this thriller will end.

Lifeboat A lifeboat becomes a microcosm of the clashing values and ideologies of World War II. In Hitchcock's suspenseful adaptation of the Steinbeck novel, a German U-boat sinks an Allied ship. The survivors then pick up the captain of the also-sunken U-boat, and a survival game begins—as fascism tempts belief in human dignity and freedom. A quality cast is headed by the classy and ever-amusing Tallulah Bankhead.

The Sound of Music Villa von Trapp is a pretty grim place until the arrival of Sister Maria, a renegade nun and sometime-songstress who is hired to care for the motherless von Trapp brood. The hills come alive: soon the family is singing, dancing, and running from the Nazis; Hitler wants their Austrian-baron dad in his army. A great love story with lots of laughter, singing, suspense,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photofest

Julie Andrews in *The Sound of Music.* The hills are alive in this musical story of love and freedom.

singing, drama, singing, and ultimately an escape to freedom across the Alps. A classic musical.

SPARTACUS Kirk Douglas drowns a Roman guard in a bowl of soup, igniting a slave rebellion that threatens to undermine the ever-expansive, tyrannical *Pax Romana.* In the process, he defeats Roman armies (led by Laurence Olivier) and turns an undisciplined mob into an unflinching fighting machine with one aim: freedom. "Death is the only freedom a slave knows," says Spartacus. "That's why he's not afraid of it. That's why we'll win." A film full of color and passion.

CRIME AND JUSTICE

Despite the emphasis on statistics, crime never occurs in the abstract: It affects real people, families, and communities. It is they who must help restrain the criminal culture within. As for justice, the state hardly does anything more important than when it delivers a measured, just response to human evil.

HIGH NOON Gary Cooper plays a marshall who must save a town from outlaws, protect business interests, and hold together his marriage to Grace Kelly—all on his wedding day and all in less than 90 minutes! While the train of black hats approaches, Cooper searches the whole town for deputies, but finds only excuses. Abandoned, trapped by his own commitment to uphold the law, Cooper meets his destiny alone.

JUDGMENT AT NUREMBERG A lot more is on trial here than four Nazi judges accused of condemning innocent people to death camps. Humanity itself is being judged, along with our willingness to punish evil. Spencer Tracy plays an American judge pressured to go easy on the Germans because of the rising Russian bear. Meanwhile, Marlene Dietrich is a widow who befriends Tracy and urges him not to further scar the German nation with a tough sentence. Riveting performances all around.

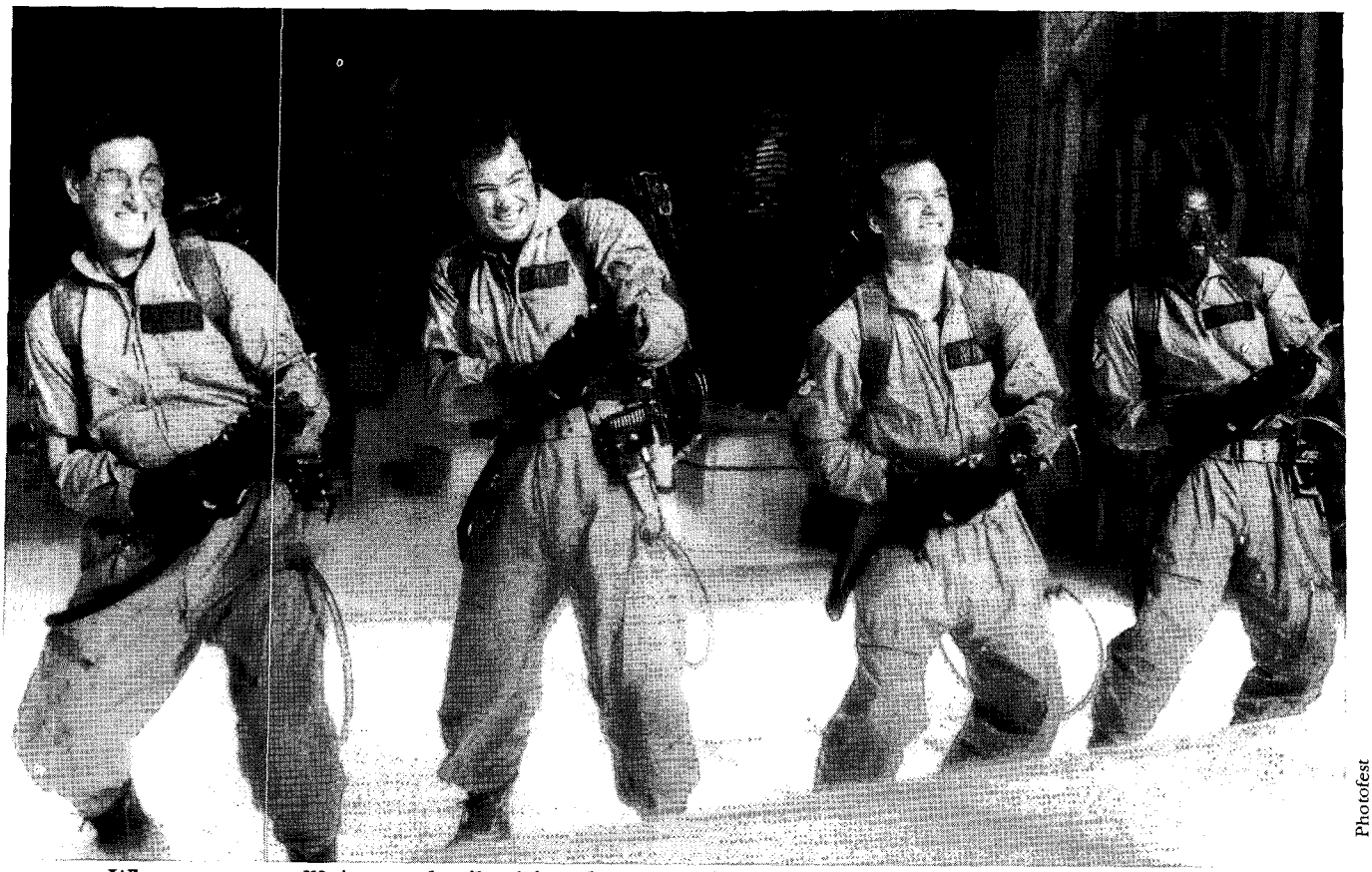
THE MAGNIFICENT SEVEN Here's a western that gives a pretty balanced view of the good, the bad, and the ugly sides of restoring civil order. Yul Brynner leads six other sharp shooters to save a town terrorized by Eli Wallach and the gang. Brynner's hired guns are determined to teach the locals how to defend themselves—call it an early version of neighborhood watch. They even yearn for the quiet, courageous life of family and community over that of the lonely gunslinger.

TOUCH OF EVIL A Mexican narcotics agent (Charlton Heston) takes on a detective (Orson Welles) who perverts justice for his own ends. Watch as the circles of corruption begin to collapse around Welles, thanks to Heston's uncompromising grip on the good.

TWELVE ANGRY MEN In a sweaty, stuffy deliberating room, 11 men are ready to hang an immigrant kid for allegedly killing his father. And then juror Henry Fonda raises his reasonable doubts, along with the notion that justice demands an honest search for the truth. A dumbfounded Lee J. Cobb mutters "What is this? Love your underprivileged brother week?" See this one and you'll almost want to sign up for jury duty.

THE UNTOUCHABLES The story is set in 1930, but there's a contemporary urgency to this film in which crime is viewed as a threat, not to society in general, but

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Photofest

Who ya gonna call? Assorted evil spirits, ghosts, goblins, slime, and small-minded EPA bureaucrats are no match for the *Ghostbusters*.

to the foundational cell of society—the family. Kevin Costner, as Dudley Do-Right Treasury officer Elliot Ness, defends not only the streets of Chicago, but his own loved ones, along with various mothers pushing baby carriages. Of course, mobster Al Capone (Robert DeNiro) is finally brought down by (conservatives gasp) the IRS!

WITNESS Big-city cop Harrison Ford takes community-based policing to new heights when he is forced to hide out in an Amish village to protect a boy who witnessed a murder. Comparison of the settings—the smeared, messy city against the pastoral countryside—alludes to the inner state of the consciences of both sets of inhabitants. Once the killers track down Ford, the film hints that a nudge toward traditional values would help communities guard themselves against their most violent members.

REGULATION/BUREAUCRACY

Few features of modern life are as threatening to man's freedom and creativity as the rules, regulations, and red tape that characterize government institutions.

BITTER HARVEST Based on a true story, myopic government bureaucrats blunder an investigation of diseased cattle that threaten to contaminate millions of people. Ron Howard plays dairy farmer turned sleuth when—get this—regulators refuse to investigate the mysterious deaths of several cattle. Rather than cry over spilt milk, Howard takes desperate measures to alert the public about the health threat.

BRAZIL Monty Python's Terry Gilliam meets 1984 in this relentless satire of government bureaucracy swamped by information overload. One man's attempt to correct a record-keeping mistake pits him against the government's "central services" agency. The cast—including Ian Holm, and Robert DeNiro as a renegade repair man—is forced to swim through a set design loaded with useless signs and wrapped in endless miles of wires, cords, and ducts. Here's why Congress should stay off the information highway.

COOL HAND LUKE Here's an argument for shrinking bureaucracy wherever it's found: "Rules and regulations" put decorated war veteran Paul Newman into prison with a murderous chain gang, all for cutting the heads off parking meters. Newman's eagerness to carve out his identity amid thoughtless conformity galvanizes the other inmates. An entertaining film served well by tantalizing cinematography.

GHOSTBUSTERS It could only happen in New York: Paranormal entrepreneurs save the Big Apple. Ghosthunters Bill Murray, Dan Aykroyd, and a terrific cast are doing just fine bagging spirits until they get tied up by a red-tape dispensing EPA official, whose paranoia threatens the city with apocalyptic disaster. A superb mock-epic comedy in which Murray and Aykroyd steal the heart of the city and the thunder of the regulate-first, ask-questions-later bureaucrats.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photofest

Fearless Treasury agent Elliot Ness (Kevin Costner, right) and Chicago cop Jimmy Malone (Sean Connery) face down one of Al Capone's bodyguards in *The Untouchables*.

HEAVENS ABOVE Malcolm Muggeridge wrote the screenplay in this Peter Sellers movie about a priest whose good intentions to help the poor reduce a thriving English community to shiftless, irresponsible dependents. Sellers convinces a widow to establish a free-food market at his church. Soon, the entire town stops working, businesses are empty, and lines at the church are backed up. An eccentric, effective parody of socialism.

JAWS A reminder that even little bureaucrats can create a mouthful of problems. In Spielberg's first blockbuster, a killer shark is prowling the waters around Amity Island, but the mayor is more interested in buying off his constituents than in preventing their dismemberment. Police Chief Brody (Roy Scheider) teams with an Ahab-like shark hunter to stop the man-munching menace.

JESUS OF MONTREAL Perhaps the only film ever to ask the question, "If Jesus were sick, would he use the Canadian health-care system?" A professional actor named Daniel puts on a contemporary version of the passion play. The line between life and art blurs, as Daniel's unconventional troupe encounters opposition from various specialists, bureaucrats, and authorities. Then an accident gives him a taste of Canadian hospitals and the horror of socialized medicine. Would-be saviors of America's health-care system, take note!

ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOO'S NEST Stern nurse Rachet and her stifling, overly regulated mental ward could serve as an apt allegory of the looming, therapeutic state. Patients are so dependent on the specialists they no longer think or act for themselves. Enter social rebel Jack Nicholson, a virus in this antiseptic environment. Though no choir boy, he inspires the inmates and exposes the manipulative bureaucrats for what they are.

PACIFIC HEIGHTS Michael Keaton, playing the tenant from hell, may be the best argument for defending property rights since the Alamo. Landlords Melanie Griffith and Matthew Modine watch helplessly as Keaton turns the lovely abode into something like a Norman Bates Roach Motel. When they try to evict him, they hit a regulatory brick wall.

WAR

A soldier often fights not only with his country's weapons, but with its virtues—courage, sacrifice, devotion to duty, and passion for freedom, to name a few.

A BRIDGE TOO FAR A film that exposes the dangers of a military operation engineered by bureaucrats too far from the front lines. Despite reports of heavy resistance, Allied troops are ordered to capture bridges leading into Germany. Paratroopers are put in harm's way while paper-pushing top brass dither. An amazing assembly of battle scenes is the stage for this dream-team cast, including Sean Connery, Michael Caine, Anthony Hopkins, Laurence Olivier, Robert Redford, and Gene Hackman.

GETTYSBURG This vast four-hour epic of North vs. South delivers a clear message from characters on both sides: Freedom is worth fighting for. Colonel Joshua

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photofest

Hand-to-hand combat in the epic film *Gettysburg*, which details the story of Colonel Joshua Chamberlain's courageous charge at the Battle of Little Round Top.

Chamberlain (Jeff Daniels) anchors the film, leading his men in a stirring charge down Little Round Top. Chamberlin's vibrant American idealism is also on display, particularly the belief—now at risk from modern multiculturalism—that a person should be evaluated for what he does, not the color of his skin.

GLORY The personal struggles and mixed motives of soldiers and commanders are woven into this drama about sacrificial commitment to country and individual freedom. Denzel Washington plays a rogue soldier in the first black regiment of the Civil War, opposite Matthew Broderick as commanding officer. An emotionally driven film, it typifies the American paradox—a nation that simultaneously fought for unity and personal freedom.

HENRY V "He today that sheds his blood with me shall be my brother"—with such words, England's Henry V (Kenneth Branagh) leads his trembling troops against the mighty French in the near-miraculous battle of Agincourt. Shakespeare's character has almost perfect heroic stature, tightly bound to his people and his God. Here is a leader who rules not by opinion polls, but by conscience and love of country. And here, under Branagh's direction, a great play becomes an even greater film.

THE LONGEST DAY If you remember that most of the men who stormed the beaches at Normandy were 18- to 20-year-old kids, this film will give you goose pimples. We get the first 24 hours of the D-Day invasion, with a look at the improvised leadership and heart-stopping valor that forced the Nazis back into Germany. Meanwhile, German complacency is described by one Nazi general: "We will lose the war because our glorious Fuhrer has taken a sleeping pill and is not to be awakened." John Wayne, Robert Mitchum, Richard Burton, and Henry Fonda head an all-star cast.

PATTON Made during the Vietnam era, this reflection on one of America's most ambitious generals explores with both nostalgia and caution the lost virtues of the classical warrior. Often what makes George S. Patton (George C. Scott) great also makes him problematic: his devotion to duty, his unflinching courage, his patriotism, his ruthless pursuit of his enemies. When you watch him break a troop bottleneck by clearing a donkey off a bridge, you know you've met a man with a mission. One of the great World War II biographies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Immigration or the Welfare State

Which Is Our Real Enemy?

Ron K. Unz

Immigration has recently become a lightning rod for America's deepest fears of social chaos and national decline. Millions worry that immigration is rapidly transforming America into a third-world country, with crowded, violent cities, under-educated and low-skilled labor, and an ethnic spoils system replacing America's tradition of constitutionalism and individual rights. Concerns are rising that immigrants are abusing the generosity of our welfare state, and will become an enormous burden on taxpayers. And because a large number of immigrants are Spanish-speaking, many Americans fear that continued immigration, especially from south of the border, will result in the balkanization of our country into different language and ethnic groups, ultimately leading to the sort of social tensions afflicting countries from Canada to Ukraine to, in the worst case, Bosnia.

These are legitimate concerns, but the problems that Americans rightly fear are not due to immigration itself, but to the wrong-minded social policies of our government. State-sponsored affirmative action, bilingual education, and multiculturalism are promoting dangerous levels of ethnic group tensions and conflict. And our welfare system is breeding pathological levels of crime and dependency—not primarily among immigrants but among native-born whites and blacks.

A country in which 22 percent of white children and 70 percent of black children are born out of wedlock need not look to immigrants as the source of social breakdown. The underlying problems are government policies whose emphasis on group rights promote ethnic tensions and a welfare state that encourages individuals to destroy their own families.

Immigrant Blessing

With proper government policies, immigrants are a blessing. We saw this with earlier waves of immigration, as America absorbed and assimilated tens of millions of foreign immigrants of every language, religion, and ethnicity. By 1900, some 20 percent of America's total population was foreign-born, and an additional 10 percent arrived in the following decade. Today's immigration rate is only a fraction of this level. Millions of impoverished, poorly educated Jews, Slavs, and Italians became proud and productive Americans through a public school system that emphasized English language skills and American culture, and a society that provided economic opportunity rather than government entitlement. The Ellis Island tradition was harsh but fair: Immigrants with illnesses, or who were otherwise likely to become a burden on society were excluded, while those with willing hands were allowed through the Golden Door. This is the tradition to which America should return.

Even today, despite government policies that foster dependency, the immigration of the last three decades has still been a strong net positive for the American economy. Anyone walking the streets of New York City or most other major urban centers sees that the majority of the shops are owned and operated by immigrant entrepreneurs, often in ethnically defined categories—Korean grocers, Indian newsstands, Chinese restaurants. It is obvious that most of these shops would simply not exist without immigrant families willing to put in long hours of poorly paid labor to maintain and expand them, in the process improving our cities. In Los Angeles, the vast majority of hotel and restaurant employees are hard-working Hispanic immigrants, most here illegally, and anyone who believes that these unpleasant jobs would otherwise be filled by either native-born blacks or whites is living in a fantasy world.

The same applies to nearly all of the traditional lower-rung working-class jobs in Southern California, including the nannies and gardeners whose widespread employment occasionally embarrasses the upper-middle-class Zoe Bairds of this world, even as it enables their professional careers by freeing them from domestic chores. The only means of making a job as a restaurant busboy even remotely attractive to a native-born American would be to raise the wage to $10 or $12 per hour, at which level the job would cease to exist—this is Economics 101.

Though immigrants are frequently blamed for the severity of California's current economic problems, there is no connection whatsoever between the two. Massive numbers of jobs have been lost because of the wind-down of the defense aerospace industry, the bursting of the

Ron K. Unz *is chief executive officer of Wall Street Analytics, Inc., in Palo Alto, California. This year he challenged Governor Pete Wilson in the GOP primary, and won 34 percent of the vote.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1980s real estate bubble, and the enormous costs of environmental and work-place regulations, none of which have any obvious connection to immigration. Furthermore, immigration levels (both legal and illegal) reached new heights during California's sustained economic boom of the past decade.

A COUNTRY IN WHICH 22 PERCENT OF WHITE CHILDREN ARE BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK NEED NOT LOOK TO IMMIGRANTS AS THE SOURCE OF SOCIAL BREAKDOWN.

Since most newcomers tend to be on the lower end of the wage scale, and many have children in public schools, they initially do tend to cost local governments more in services, mostly education costs, than they pay in sales and income taxes. This is the source of Governor Pete Wilson's current lawsuit against the federal government to recover the "costs" to California of illegal immigration. The same could probably be said, however, for all members of the working class having young children. The real culprit is our outrageously inefficient public school system, which spends much and delivers little. Furthermore, Jeffrey Passel of the Urban Institute has shown that because of their age profile, even working-class immigrants generally pay much more in federal taxes (primarily Social Security withholding) than they receive in federal benefits, so we might well say that immigrants are helping us balance our federal budget deficit, as well as allowing our low-end service industries to survive.

Professional Necessity

But immigrants are crucial not just to industries reliant on cheap, low-skilled labor. Silicon Valley, home to my own software company, is absolutely dependent upon immigrant professionals to maintain its technological edge. A third of all the engineers and microchip designers here are foreign born, and if they left or if their future inflow were cut off, America's computer industry would probably go with them. In fact, many of the largest and most important technology companies of the 1980s in California and elsewhere were created by immigrants, including Sun Microsystems, AST, ALR, Applied Materials, Everex, and Gupta. Borland International, a premier software company worth hundreds of millions of dollars, was founded by Philippe Kahn, an illegal immigrant. These immigrant companies have generated hundreds of thousands of good jobs in California for native Americans and have provided billions of dollars in tax revenues. Without immigrants, America's tremendous and growing dominance in the industries of the future, such as computer hardware and software, telecommunications, and biotechnology would be lost.

Ironically, while several of the most parasitic sectors of American society—politicians, government bureaucrats, and trial lawyers—are almost entirely filled with native-born Americans, each year a third to a half of the student winners of the Westinghouse Science Talent Search—America's most prestigious high school science competition—come from immigrant families, often quite impoverished. America's elite universities have student bodies that may be 20 percent Asian these days, and crucial fields like science and engineering are often half or more immigrant.

No Cause for Alarm

Obviously not all immigrants are scientists and entrepreneurs; many are welfare recipients and criminals. Large numbers of Americans are worried that recent immigrants contribute disproportionately to crime, welfare dependency, and social decay, and that their non-European origins will exacerbate America's growing ethnic strife, eventually leading perhaps to separatist ethnic nationalism.

These concerns are frequently overstated. A recent *National Review* editorial made much of the statistic that 20 percent of California's prison inmates are immigrants, but this is hardly surprising in a state where 20 percent of the general population are immigrants. Similarly, even George Borjas, an economist opposed to current immigration, has admitted that the national welfare dependency rate among non-refugee immigrants is nearly the same as that of the general population, 7.8 percent versus 7.4 percent, despite the often poor education and relative poverty of many newcomers. A recent University of Texas study focusing on all forms of public assistance found that 20 percent of immigrant households in California were recipients compared with 26 percent of native-born households; for Mexican immigrants and non-immigrant Anglos, the numbers were 18 percent and 19 percent respectively. None of this data on immigrants seems cause for great alarm.

WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, AND LINCOLN ARE JUST AS RELEVANT HEROES FOR IMMIGRANT CHILDREN TODAY AS THEY WERE AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY.

Contrasting signs of immigrant advancement and assimilation are quite widespread. Just recently, a top high school valedictorian from San Diego was discovered to have immigrated illegally from Mexico as a child. This followed a similar case of a Mexican illegal who graduated as a valedictorian in San Francisco. In California the 10 most common names of recent home-buyers include Martinez, Rodriguez, Garcia, Nguyen, Lee, and Wong, with the Nguyens outnumbering the Smiths two to one in affluent, conservative Orange County.

In fact, nearly half of California's native-born Asians and Hispanics marry into other ethnic groups, the strong-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UPI/Bettmann

A U.S. immigration official explains the New York skyline to newly arrived immigrants on Ellis Island around 1920. Today's immigration rate is only a fraction of the level in the early 20th century.

est possible evidence of assimilation at work. These intermarriage rates are actually far higher than were those of Jews, Italians, or Poles as recently as the 1950s.

Exagerrated Danger

Or consider those places in America where the deepest unspoken fears have already been realized, and white Americans of European origin ("Anglos") have already become a minority of the population. San Jose, California—the 11th largest city in the nation—is one such example. It has a white population of less than 50 percent, and contains mostly Asian and Hispanic immigrants—comprising some 20 percent and 30 percent respectively—including large numbers of impoverished illegal immigrants. San Jose has a flourishing economy, the lowest murder and robbery rates of any major city in America—less than one-fifth the rates in Dallas for example—and virtually no significant ethnic conflict.

Similarly, El Paso, Texas is the most heavily Hispanic (70 percent) of any of America's largest 50 cities, but also has one of the lowest rates of serious crime or murder, with a robbery rate just half that of Seattle, an overwhelmingly white city of similar size. The American state with the lowest percentage of whites in the population—about one third—is Hawaii, hardly notorious as a boiling cauldron of ethnic conflict and racial hostility between whites and non-whites. And the statistics show that despite its heavy urbanization, Hawaii has among the lowest serious crime rates of any state in the nation.

Hispanic involvement in recent urban riots and disturbances has been greatly exaggerated by the media. For example, the 1991 Mount Pleasant riot in a Hispanic neighborhood of Washington D.C. has regularly been cited as an example of Hispanic immigrant volatility, even though on-the-scene observers have pointed out that the rioters were primarily black. Similarly, in Los Angeles, nearly all the rioting was by native-born blacks, although Central American immigrants joined in some of the later looting. Heavily Mexican-American East Los Angeles was nearly the only part of the city untouched by any significant rioting or looting.

Threat and Opportunity

For conservatives, the immigration debate should be viewed both as a major threat and a major opportunity, each rooted in simple demographics and voting strength. For example, 30 percent of California's current population is Hispanic and 10 percent is Asian, with the vast majority being from immigrant families of the last two decades. Add in other immigrant groups such as Iranians and Armenians, and the total comes to nearly half the general population, and with enormous demographic momentum (half of all children born each year are Hispanic alone). Although current immigrant voter registration is very low—Asians and Hispanics total just 10 percent in most elections—this will change, and even if all immigration, both legal and illegal, ended tomorrow, immigrants and their children would soon dominate California politically. The demographics of states like New York, Florida, and Texas are moving in similar directions. Furthermore, the dramatic economic success of Asian immigrants should soon make them a major source of political funding both in California and nationwide.

This is potentially a very good thing for conservatives. Most Hispanics are classic blue-collar Reagan Democrats, with the same social and economic profile as Italian-Americans or Slavic-Americans. They are largely working-class, family-oriented, and socially conservative, with a strong commitment to traditional religion, either Catholic or, increasingly, Evangelical Protestant. Hispanics

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UPI/Bettmann

Nicaraguan and Cuban immigrants protest Communism in a Miami demonstration. Many immigrant groups are working class, family oriented, and socially conservative—a natural constituency for the GOP.

might well have remained John Kennedy or Scoop Jackson Democrats, but the party of George McGovern and Bill Clinton has little attraction for them.

Asians, similarly, are much like Jews in their professional and socio-economic profile, but without liberal guilt. The socialist legacy of Eastern European intellectuals and the Roosevelt New Deal has made Jews a bedrock base of the Democratic Party, and is very different from the anti-liberal Confucianist tradition found in most Asian cultures. The small-business background and hostility to affirmative action of Asians leaves them a natural constituency for conservatives as well.

This analysis is not the mere wishful thinking with which Republicans periodically discuss raising their dismal percentages of the black or Jewish vote. Although nearly all of California's prominent Asian or Hispanic political figures are liberal Democrats, ordinary Asians and Hispanics have regularly given the Republicans 40 to 50 percent of their vote. For example, in 1992, George Bush received a higher fraction of the Asian vote (40 percent) than he did of the Anglo ("white") vote (33 percent), while Bruce Herschensohn, a very conservative Republican senatorial candidate, won 44 percent of Asian voters and 40 percent of Hispanic voters in his race against Barbara Boxer. Richard Riordan, a moderate Republican, was elected mayor of Los Angeles in 1993 with similar shares of the Asian and Hispanic vote, despite running against Michael Woo, Los Angeles's leading Asian-American politician. And Governor Pete Wilson won his tight 1990 race against Dianne Feinstein because of the high percentages he received from Asians (58 percent) and Hispanics (47 percent), as well as whites (53 percent). By contrast, the black vote for each of these Republican candidates was in the 10 to 15 percent range.

Nearly every significant Republican victory of the past decade in California has depended on immigrant votes, and these totals have been achieved despite the fact that the California Republican Party has rarely, if ever, nominated an Asian or Hispanic for statewide office. So long as the Republican Party does not throw away its opportunity by turning anti-immigrant, these percentages should rise substantially as immigrants grow in affluence and younger Asians and Hispanics rise through the ranks to become Republican leaders. Matt Fong, a Chinese-American and this year's Republican nominee for state treasurer, is one example.

Pushed into the GOP

Furthermore, there is a high likelihood that the Democratic Party will do its own part in pushing immigrants into the Republican camp. The three most anti-immigrant constituencies in America are blacks, union-members, and environmentalists, and these are core elements of the Democratic Party, especially its liberal wing.

The rise of black xenophobia and the criminal pathology in many black neighborhoods, along with black proximity to immigrant areas, has led to repeated ethnic violence. It culminated in the Los Angeles riots, which were actually anti-immigrant pogroms more than anything else, with whites being merely a secondary target of the rioters. Even prior to the riots, the death rate of Korean shopkeepers in black neighborhoods was as high as that of American soldiers in the Vietnam war, and popular rap songs have focused on subjects like burning down all the Korean shops in black neighborhoods. The media has consistently failed to report or emphasize the large numbers of rapes and murders committed by blacks against Asians, many of which look suspiciously like so-called "hate crimes."

Similarly, black-Hispanic tensions in California have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

risen enormously since the Los Angeles riots, during which Hispanic families with small children were attacked and brutalized by black mobs; also, a substantial percentage of the shops destroyed were Hispanic-owned. Since such conflict between "minority" groups does not conform to the dominant liberal paradigm, it is largely ignored in the mainstream media, but perfectly well recognized by the Asian and Hispanic press.

No FAIR

On the policy level, important environmentalist groups such as Zero Population Growth and the Carrying Capacity Network have adopted a strong anti-immigration line, and the most prominent anti-immigration organization, the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), has its origins in the environmentalist movement. Such hostility to immigration is rooted in the role that immigration plays in increasing America's population and birth rate, and generating economic and industrial growth, all anathema to fervent environmentalists. Since most immigrants hail from crowded Third World nations in Latin America and Asia, one might also suspect that a mental image of immigrants turning the empty expanses of America's natural beauty into another densely populated Hong Kong is also at the back of environmentalist concerns.

Then, too, there exists an obvious incompatibility between immigration and an extensive social welfare state, in which low-skilled newcomers are mouths to feed rather than hands to work. Even the most stubborn liberal Democrats must realize that extending America's generous welfare benefits to all Third World inhabitants who cross our borders would quickly bankrupt any economy, and cause the collapse of the modern welfare state. Witness the recent Democratic proposal to fund national health care by eliminating various social benefits for legal immigrants, a position maintained despite the outrage of Hispanic and Asian Democrats. It is no coincidence that immigration is a much more dramatic political issue in California, which has an extensive welfare state, than in Texas, which does not.

These facts underlie the anti-immigrant rhetoric of Senator Barbara Boxer, Representative Tony Beilenson, and other prominent California liberal Democrats. Boxer has advocated such measures as building a defensive wall across the Mexican border, to be patrolled by the National Guard, while Beilenson has proposed amending the Constitution to deny the right of U.S. citizenship to immigrant children born in America. Proposals that the media only recently used to demonize as nativist the Buchananite right wing of the Republican Party have now become the common currency of the left wing of the Democratic Party. All of these forces are inevitably driving the Democratic Party toward an anti-immigration stance, and there is no policy change that can avert this conclusion. It is no coincidence that Governor Pete Wilson, a leading anti-immigrant figure in the Republican Party, is a very liberal Republican, being both a strong environmentalist and a firm believer in the social welfare state.

Thus, if used properly, immigration could serve as the issue that breaks the Democratic Party and forges a new and dominant conservative/Republican governing coalition. Certain major segments of the Democratic Party, aside from the Asians and Hispanics, are pro-immigrant or at least cosmopolitan, including Jews, academic and media elites, and top business executives. But they have neither the numbers or the fervor of the anti-immigrant elements, and, just as in the related issue of the Democratic Party's gradual reversal of its historic support for free trade, they will eventually be pushed aside.

UPI/Bettmann

A large number of small businesses in American urban areas are owned and operated by immigrant families. Only 10 percent of welfare recipients are immigrants; 90 percent are native born.

Furthermore, although many in these pro-immigrant Democratic groups have long recognized the failure of welfare policies, and the harms inflicted by bilingual education and affirmative action, they have usually been unwilling to attack these programs directly. Once it becomes absolutely clear that these policies inevitably provoke widespread anti-immigrant sentiment and simply cannot be reconciled with America's traditional openness to immigrants, these Democratic groups will split into pro-welfare state and pro-immigrant wings, with the pro-immigrant wing being drawn toward a pro-immigrant Republican Party.

Sacrificing the Future

Under the right circumstances, this can be the issue that sparks a massive rollback of the welfare state and the ethnic group policies of the past 20 or 30 years, with these dramatic changes being backed by a dominant political alliance of Asians, Hispanics, and conservative Anglos.

Yet many Republican politicians are riding what they misperceive as an irresistible tide of anti-immigrant sentiment and attempting to move the party in a strongly restrictionist direction. Such individuals are sacrificing the long-term future of their party—and of America itself—for momentary political gain, and working to snatch

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Political Scapegoats

In December 1993, while considering a primary challenge to Governor Pete Wilson of California, I commissioned an extremely detailed survey of 1,200 Republican primary voters, with one of the main sections being an analysis of their views on the crucial issue of immigration.

At first glance, the results seemed to confirm the conventional wisdom on illegal immigration, with the respondents rating "stopping illegal immigrants at the border" at 4.3 in importance (on a scale of 1-5), second only to crime control (4.5), and slightly ahead of job creation and tax limitation. But when voters were then asked the reasons behind their immigration concerns (in two parallel subsamples of 600 each, dealing with illegal and legal immigrants respectively), neither illegal nor legal immigrants were viewed as taking jobs away from other Californians, as committing much crime, or as generally turning California into a "Third World" state. The only issues that raised significant concerns were the financial drain of illegal immigrants on welfare (4.1), fears that legal and illegal immigrants weren't learning English in the schools (3.2 combined), and anger that legal and illegal immigrants and their children would benefit unfairly from affirmative action (3.3 combined).

Next, respondents were informed that some studies showed that most illegal/legal immigrants were paying taxes, obeying laws, trying to learn English, and weren't on welfare; by better than 2-1 the response was that under such circumstances, immigration was not a serious problem in California. Following this, the respondents indicated by a margin of nearly 4-1 that they agreed that immigrants were being unfairly blamed by politicians for problems like crime and welfare, which were more connected with the native-born urban underclass than with legal or illegal immigrants.

Finally, a subsample of 600 was informed that a hypothetical candidate believed that immigrants—both legal and illegal—were being scapegoated by politicians, and that if welfare benefits were cut and bilingual education and affirmative action stopped, then immigration would again become an actual plus for California. A majority of the subsample agreed, and more significantly, the voters of this subsample were willing to support the hypothetical candidate on a sample ballot just as strongly as were the other 600 subsample: A pro-immigration stance had incurred no political cost. All of this data indicate that the immigration issue is largely a proxy for concerns about welfare, affirmative action, bilingual education, and multiculturalism, and is much broader than it is deep.

The result of my actual gubernatorial primary race supports this conclusion. Despite my complete lack of name recognition or political experience, my being outspent nearly four to one by Governor Wilson, and my public opposition to immigrant bashing, in just eight weeks of campaigning I raised my support from 8 percent to 34 percent by election day, including nearly half of all Republican voters age 50 and under.

—RON UNZ

defeat from the jaws of victory. Republican support for reasonable levels of legal immigration and for a well-funded Immigration and Naturalization Service to deter illegal entry is perfectly appropriate: All sovereign nations control their borders. But for a country facing so many real problems—a disastrous welfare system and the urban underclass that it has fostered, horrifying levels of crime, and an outrageously expensive system of civil litigation—to grow hysterical about immigration—which is actually a net plus to our economy and society—seems the height of irresponsibility.

Back to Ellis Island

Instead, the Republican Party should focus its efforts around those core policies that would serve to unite rather than divide conservative natives and immigrants (see survey results in sidebar). These should include absolute opposition to affirmative action policies in all their many guises, which Thomas Sowell and others have shown inevitably lead to heightened ethnic conflict wherever in the world they are implemented. Also, we must return our public schools to the teaching of our unifying English language and our common American culture, and eliminate the native-language instruction and divisive multiculturalism programs that could fragment our society. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln are just as relevant heroes for the children of Asian and Hispanic immigrants today as they were for the children of Italian, Slavic, and Jewish immigrants at the turn of the century.

We must also dramatically roll back our well-intentioned but failed welfare state, whose costs have been far greater than the $4 trillion spent directly since 1964. Massive social welfare programs have left us with a combined legacy of gigantic annual budget deficits and very high tax levels, which severely depress our economic growth. But even more serious have been the severe social pathologies generated by these programs, overwhelmingly among the native-born, which have left large portions of nearly all our major cities devastated wastelands. All of this would have been unimaginable 30 years ago.

Removing from the welfare rolls the 10 percent of recipients who are immigrants is certainly a necessary and proper action for our government to take, but it will not save our society unless we apply the same measures to the other 90 percent who are native born. And combining these two actions would serve as a sure means of winning rather than losing crucial immigrant votes. Our goal must be to return our entire society to the values of individual liberty, community spirit, and personal self-reliance that once characterized the American spirit, drawing from the traditions of the Western frontier and Ellis Island.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ABSOLUT VODKA ◦ AEROJET ◦ AEROSPATIALE ◦ AETNA ◦ AFFORDABLE ENERGY ALLIANCE ◦ AFL-CIO ◦ AFSCME ◦ AGRICULTURE FOR CLEAN AIR ◦ ALLIANCE FOR MANAGED COMPETITION ◦ AMERICAN ACADEMY OF FAMILY PHYSICIANS ◦ AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PHYSICIAN ASSISTANTS ◦ AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED PERSONS ◦ AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION ◦ AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LIFE INSURANCE ◦ AMERICAN EUROCOPTER ◦ AMERICAN FORESTRY & PAPER ASSOCIATION ◦ AMERICAN HEALTH LINE ◦ AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS ◦ AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL GROUP ◦ AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION ◦ AMERICAN MEDICAL SECURITIES ◦ AMERICAN OSTEOPATHIC ASSOCIATION ◦ AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE ◦ AMERICAN TRUCKING ASSOCIATION ◦ AMERITECH ◦ ANHEUSER BUSCH ◦ ARCO ◦ ASEA BROWN BOVERI ◦ ASHLAND OIL ◦ ASIAN WALL STREET JOURNAL ◦ ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN RAILROADS ◦ AT&T ◦ AUDIO-FORUM ◦ BABCOCK & WILCOX ◦ BATH IRONWORKS ◦ BAXTER INTERNATIONAL ◦ BEER INSTITUTE ◦ BELL ATLANTIC ◦ BELL BOEING ◦ BELL HELICOPTER ◦ BELLSOUTH ◦ BERLITZ PUBLISHING COMPANY ◦ BLUE CROSS/BLUE SHIELD ◦ BOEING ◦ BOEING AEROSPACE & ELECTRONICS ◦ BOEING SIKORSKY ◦ BONNER & ASSOCIATES ◦ BRITISH AEROSPACE ◦ CAREER COLLEGES ASSOCIATION ◦ CATHOLICS FOR A FREE CHOICE ◦ CFM INTERNATIONAL ◦ CHEVRON ◦ CITIBANK ◦ CITIZENS AGAINST GOVERNMENT WASTE ◦ CLEAN AIR WORKING GROUP ◦ CNN ◦ COALITION FOR ACID RAIN EQUITY ◦ COALITION FOR HEALTH INSURANCE CHOICES ◦ COALITION FOR VEHICLE CHOICE ◦ THE COALITION OF MEDICARE RISK CONTRACTORS ◦ COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE ◦ THE COMPETITIVE LONG DISTANCE COALITION ◦ COUNCIL FOR RESPONSIBLE NUTRITION ◦ C-SPAN ◦ THE DISTILLED SPIRITS COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES ◦ EDISON ELECTRIC INSTITUTE ◦ ELECTRONIC INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION ◦ ENTERGY CORPORATION ◦ EOSAT ◦ ETHYL CORPORATION ◦ FANNIE MAE ◦ FEDERATION OF AMERICA HEALTHCARE SYSTEMS ◦ FORD MOTOR

What do these 152 advertisers have in common? We think uncommonly good judgment.

After all, they advertise in Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report. Do you? Call Bob Wallace, Ad Director, (202) 822-1440, for the 1994 CQ Media Kit.

COMPANY ◦ FREDDIE MAC ◦ GENERAL DYNAMICS ◦ GENERAL ELECTRIC ◦ GENERAL MOTORS ◦ GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO ◦ GOVERNORS' ETHANOL COALITION ◦ GROCERY MANUFACTURERS OF AMERICA ◦ GRUMMAN ◦ GTE ◦ HARRIS CORPORATION ◦ HEALTH INSURANCE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA ◦ HILL AIR FORCE BASE ◦ HUGHES AIRCRAFT COMPANY ◦ IBM ◦ ILLINOIS FARMERS UNION ◦ INDEPENDENT BANKERS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA ◦ INDEPENDENT TELECOMMUNICATIONS NETWORK, INC. ◦ INTERNATIONAL PAPER ◦ KEENE CORPORATION ◦ LABORERS INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA ◦ LOCKHEED ◦ LTV ◦ MARTIN MARIETTA CORPORATION ◦ MCDONNELL DOUGLAS ◦ MERRILL LYNCH ◦ METROPOLITAN LIFE ◦ MIAMI HERALD ◦ MILLER BREWING ◦ NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BUSINESS PACS ◦ NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LIFE UNDERWRITERS ◦ NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TRADE & TECHNICAL SCHOOLS ◦ NATIONAL CABLE TELEVISION ASSOCIATION ◦ NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE SOCIAL SECURITY & MEDICARE ◦ NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION ◦ THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES ◦ NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE ◦ NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION ◦ NATIONAL SOFT DRINK ASSOCIATION ◦ NATIONAL SMOKERS' ALLIANCE ◦ NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING ◦ NEW YORK LIFE ◦ NORDICTRACK ◦ N.W. FOREST RESOURCE COUNCIL ◦ NORTHERN TELECOM ◦ NORTHROP ◦ NUCLEAR ENERGY INSTITUTE ◦ NYNEX ◦ OREGON LANDS COALITION ◦ PARALYZED VETERANS OF AMERICA ◦ PFIZER ◦ PHARMACEUTICAL RESEARCH AND MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION ◦ PHILIP MORRIS ◦ PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION OF AMERICA ◦ THE PRICE CONTROL COALITION ◦ THE PRINCIPAL FINANCIAL GROUP ◦ PRUDENTIAL INSURANCE ◦ PUBLIC SECURITIES ASSOCIATION ◦ RAYTHEON ◦ REGIONAL BELL ◦ ROCKWELL INTERNATIONAL ◦ SEAGRAMS ◦ 7-UP ◦ SIEMENS CORPORATION ◦ STEEL CAN RECYCLING INSTITUTE ◦ TEXTRON LYCOMING ◦ THIOKOL ◦ TIME WARNER ◦ TIMES BOOKS ◦ TOYOTA ◦ TRW ◦ TWA ◦ UNION OF CONCERNED SCIENTISTS ◦ UNITED AUTO WORKERS ◦ UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL ◦ UNITED TECHNOLOGIES ◦ U.S. JOBS NOW ◦ WESTINGHOUSE ◦ WEYERHAEUSER ◦ ZENECA

Advertisers from January 1990 through July 1994

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You Just Can't Take It Anymore

America's Property Rights Revolt

Richard Miniter

Outraged citizens staged a grass-roots tax revolt in the late 1970s that forced lawmakers to cut taxes, reversed the prevailing orthodoxy about taxes in intellectual circles, elected dozens of state and federal anti-tax lawmakers, and helped catapult Ronald Reagan into the White House. The resulting1980s tax cuts touched off the longest peacetime economic boom in American history and led other nations to trim taxes and spending.

Meet the grass-roots rebels of the 1990s: The private property rights movement. Like the early tax rebels, these activists were often strangers to politics until the government disrupted their lives. Their cause promises to have similarly dramatic results.

Indeed, the property rights revolt already is changing the political calculus in Washington. There are more than 500 active property rights groups across the country, with a total of some 2 million members. They have helped thwart the environmental agenda in Congress and several federal agencies, successfully pushed legislation in a more than a dozen state legislatures, helped elect at least a score of state and federal lawmakers, and won key cases in the courts, including two landmark U.S. Supreme Court cases. Like supply-side economics, the movement has touched off a paradigm shift in the way many view property rights. All of these accomplishments from a movement that didn't exist five years ago.

Stalled Plows, Dashed Hopes

If the property rights revolt succeeds, vast areas of federal regulation would have to be reexamined. Why? Because courts and legislatures are increasingly requiring compensation for government rules that reduce property values. Federal regulators would be forced—often for the first time—to weigh the costs and benefits of regulation. Many rules would not pass the test. The property rights movement would touch off the biggest reduction in government regulation in more than a century. "This is the unfinished business of the Reagan Revolution," says James C. Miller III, head of the Office of Management and Budget under President Reagan.

In 1989, President Bush's "no net loss of the nation's remaining wetlands" pledge produced an arbitrary and confusing set of wetlands regulations—creating, in effect, a national zoning law. Wetland regulation, originally designed to protect swamps, became so broadly defined that, with a few computer keystrokes, almost 75 million acres of private land suddenly became wetlands. Bush's most important environmental campaign promise fueled a massive regulatory expansion. It soon stalled plows in farmer's fields, idled home builders on small plots, and snatched away the dreams of people who bought land decades before hoping only to build their modest homes.

On the Retreat

Wetlands regulations sparked a national grass-roots movement against a broad array of environmental and other government-imposed land-use restrictions. Within a few years, environmentalists faced a full-scale revolt against many of the laws and regulations they cherish. Even today, with environmental guru Al Gore a heartbeat away from the presidency, the environmental movement is having trouble raising money, hanging on to members, and winning in the legislative arena.

To be sure, the environmental grip on federal legislation remains secure—there is little danger at present of any major environmental programs being repealed or dramatically scaled back. However, on most significant pieces of environmental legislation up for reauthorization this Congress, the greens have been unable to expand their agenda for federal control of privately owned land and resources.

The National Resources Defense Council's Erik Olson, in a now-infamous March 4, 1994 memo with six of the most influential environmental lobbyists in Washington, recommended all but killing the ambitious environmental legislative agenda for 1994. If environmental bills are debated, he said, they could be amended in ways the environmentalists would dislike.

Olson recommended tabling reauthorization of the Endangered Species Act, the National Biological Survey, and a bill to elevate the EPA to cabinet level. Referring to the reauthorization the Clean Water Act, the basis for wetlands regulation, Olson wrote: "If we cannot get [Senators] Baucus and Mitchell to agree to move a strong bill on the floor, we can move to a kill strategy." Addition-

Richard Miniter *is writing a book on the property rights movement entitled* This Land Is My Land.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ally, Olson said that "Superfund legislation will probably have to be killed." The EPA's own appropriations bill, usually a safe bet for environmentalists, may contain "bad substantive amendments."

As for reauthorizing the 1974 Safe Drinking Water Act, Olson wrote: "It is probably not within our power to stop this legislation from moving in the Senate." He warns "We could be rolled in the markup, however, unless we get a delay and pour major resources into it. We agree that the [environmental] community must put substantial media, grass-roots, and lobbying effort into this bill, or we could take a major loss, which would set a bad precedent for any other substantial bill (like Clean Water)."

Olson's memo proved prophetic. The National Biological Survey, a bill to catalogue every existing American species of plant and animal, was designated to provide the research for more government land acquisition and regulation. Backed by Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, the bill was expected to pass with ease. Indeed, money already had been appropriated for the program, even before it was authorized. The League of Conservation Voters, whose environmental scorecards for members of Congress help influence PAC contributions, was determined to push the program through without amendment.

Hundreds of property rights groups and advocates went to work with a two-fold strategy. Coordinated by the Alliance for America, an umbrella organization for nearly every property rights group in America, activists deluged Congress with faxes, phone calls, and letters. "The whole network was working," says Margaret Ann "Peggy" Reigle, of the Fairness to Land Owners Committee, which targets federal environmental regulations. The message to Congress was clear: Land-owning constituents were watching this vote.

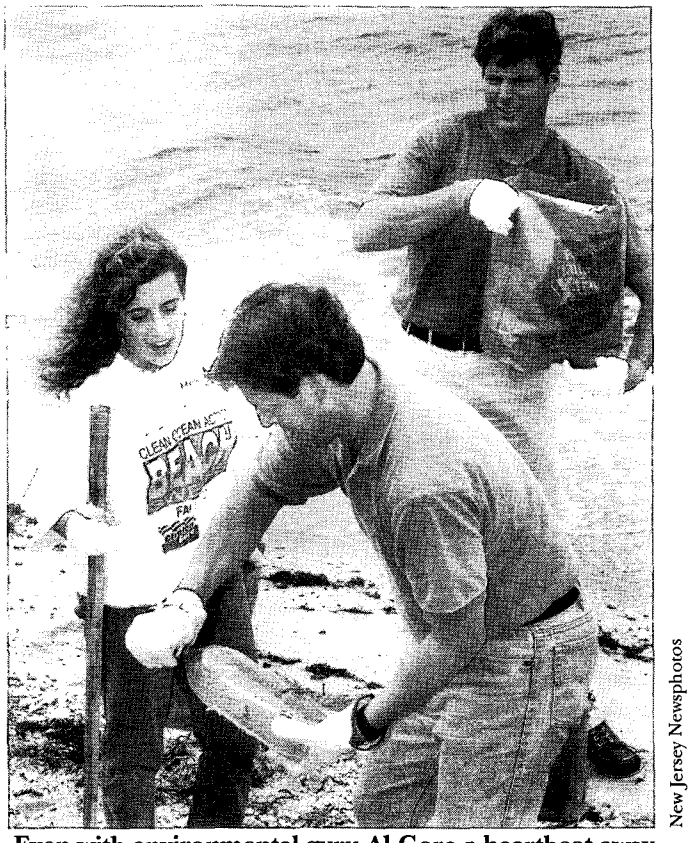
Environmental Backlash

Meanwhile, property rights advocates worked with members of Congress to amend the legislation to make it too costly or cumbersome to enforce. Pro-property rights lawmakers attached five amendments to the bill. Each passed by large margins, and the legislation was tabled.

Environmentalists encountered other setbacks as well. For years they have lobbied for a bill to elevate the EPA to cabinet-level status. But earlier this year, when congressional leaders were unable to prevent amendments from being attached to an upcoming version of the bill, that legislation died. At about the same time, reauthorization for Superfund was delayed. Consideration of the Endangered Species Act has been put off for a year. The Safe Drinking Water Act was amended in the Senate to require property rights analysis before the EPA could write new regulations.

"An environmental 'backlash'... has recently stymied our efforts in Congress," said a combined press release of 15 major environmental groups, who rarely work this closely. They urged some 400,000 of their most active members to write Congress opposing property rights amendments.

The only significant environmental measure to clear the Congress this year was the California Desert Protection Act—but it may well prove to be a Pyrrhic victory. Embracing 700,000 acres of private property and hundreds of thousands more in public land, the act represents one of Washington's most massive land acquisition efforts. With the bill in Senate committee, lawmakers had grudgingly agreed to compensate landowners, but at a rate far below market value. The bill passed in the Senate without amendment.



New Jersey Newsphotos

Even with environmental guru Al Gore a heartbeat away from the presidency, the environmental movement is having trouble raising money, hanging on to members, and winning in the legislative arena.

When the legislation was picked up in the House in July, property rights supporters in and outside of Congress turned up the heat. Leaders such as Reigle and Chuck Cushman of the National Inholders Association met with members of Congress—Democrats and Republicans—to suggest ways to amend the bill. Point men in the House included Representatives Jack Fields (R-TX); James Hanson (R-VT); Jimmy Hayes (D-LA).; Bill Orton (D-UT); Richard Pombo (R-CA); Billy Tauzin (D-LA); Charles Taylor (R-NC); and Don Young (R-AK).

Foot Soldiers for Freedom

Their influence was decisive. Property defenders persuaded the House to amend the bill, requiring the federal government to pay fair market value for the land, dramatically raising the cost of acquiring the property. A thoroughly bi-partisan cadre of 281 congressmen signed on to the amendment, and the bill now sits in conference committee. If the House version is approved, the federal government won't be able to buy up the property in one fell swoop. Moreover, the entire acquisition program—which probably will take years to complete—will be vulnerable to political pressure from taxpayers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As these tales of defeat suggest, the frustration among environmental activists results from a growing awareness of the political volatility of trifling with one of the Constitution's most clearly protected guarantees—the right to own property without fear of government seizure. Scores of private groups have appeared in recent years to protect landowners from government intrusion. Some are national in scope, some help landowners wage legal battles, but most focus on state or local legislation. A recent book on the property rights movement, *It Takes A Hero*, by Mountain States Legal Foundation President William Perry Pendley, lists no less than 1,000 groups and individuals active in the fight to protect private property rights.

THE PROPERTY RIGHTS REVOLT IS ALREADY CHANGING THE POLITICAL CALCULUS IN WASHINGTON. LIKE SUPPLY-SIDE ECONOMICS, THE MOVEMENT HAS TOUCHED OFF A PARADIGM SHIFT IN THE WAY MANY VIEW PROPERTY RIGHTS.

Most of these organizations were begun by people who have witnessed first hand the stultifying effects of environmental regulation. Among them:

Ann Corcoran's love for the good earth at first drew her into environmental groups such as the Audubon Society, where she worked as a Washington lobbyist. It also led her and her husband to buy farmland bordering the Antietam National Battlefield in western Maryland. And that led them into a three-year fight with the National Park Service and with environmental forces trying to prevent them from farming. Corcoran founded the *Land Rights Letter* and speaks frequently to property rights groups.

Dale and Jeris French formed the Adirondack Solidarity Alliance after Governor Cuomo created a commission that barred any homes from being built on less than 2,000 acres. "It was nothing short of a bald-faced attempt to depopulate the entire region," Dale says. Within months, 2,100 residents from several adjoining counties joined the alliance and shut down Interstate 87 in protest. They continue to battle the Adirondack Park Agency.

Cheryl Johnson admits that "at one time or another I have belonged or contributed to just about every environmental group you can name." That ended in 1991, when she led a successful fight to protect landowners along the Pemigewasset River near her home in Campton, New Hampshire. The National Park Service was determined to give the river a "wild and scenic" designation, which would rob residents of the right to develop their land. In the process she helped found the New Hampshire Landowners Alliance, Inc.

Margaret Ann "Peggy" Reigle, the head of Fairness to Land Owners Committee, became a property rights activist when her neighbors' retirement dreams in Dorchester County, Maryland were threatened by wetlands regulations. Her group now has more than 15,000 members in all 50 states and lobbies Congress and state capitals. Reigle runs the organization, without any corporate or government support, from a small office in her attic.

Activists in the movement, whether opposing local or national environmental laws, employ many of the tactics of any successful grass-roots movement. They show up at city council meetings, testify before state legislatures, flood Washington with phone calls and letters, fire off faxes and newsletters, stage rallies, and help defend landowners in court battles. A recent rally at the state capitol steps in Austin, Texas drew 4,000 activists, all wearing t-shirts emblazoned with the words "Take Back Texas."

Their numbers, their persistence, and their passion are all helping property rights activists to forge a deepening alliance with state and federal legislators. Their strategy—which has been labeled the "unholy trinity" by environmentalists—typically involves: opposing the regulations or "mandates" that Washington imposes on states, without the federal money to carry them out; demanding that risk assessments be part of environmental legislation; and insisting that property owners be justly compensated for land whose value is diminished by government regulations. With a growing number of politicians and lawmakers forced to give at least lip service to property rights, the movement is racking up victories in the Congress, several state houses, elections, and the courts.

Missiles in Congress

Representative Billy Tauzin, a Democrat from Louisiana, exemplifies the growing crop of lawmakers—from both sides of the political aisle—whose environmentalism is framed by a sensitivity to the plight of property owners. Tauzin's rural district has been devastated by wetlands legislation, which not only has kept landowners from developing their property, but keeps them from shoring up marshes to protect against erosion. That's no small matter for Louisiana, which loses about 16,000 acres a year through erosion.

COURTS AND LEGISLATURES ARE INCREASINGLY REQUIRING COMPENSATION FOR GOVERNMENT RULES THAT REDUCE PROPERTY VALUES.

Tauzin has proposed legislation (H.R. 3875) to require that landowners be compensated when regulations reduce property values by 50 percent or more. Tauzin's bill garnered about 164 co-sponsors, and the House Democratic leadership was afraid it couldn't defeat the measure if it came to a floor vote. It has been bottled up in the House Rules Committee.

Tauzin won't surrender. He filed a discharge petition,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a parliamentary device that forces the bill to be considered on the floor of the House if 218 members sign it. So far, Tauzin has convinced 143 congressmen to sign the petition. He is now trying to sign up 79 more congressmen before the October recess. (Legislation similar to Tauzin's has cleared the Senate twice since 1990.)

Senator Phil Gramm (R-TX), introduced a bill this August 19 that allows property owners to file suit if government action reduces their property value by 25 percent or more, or by $10,000. Called the Private Property Rights Restoration Act, the bill was in committee as of this writing. "It's the best we've seen yet," Reigle says.

Gramm and Tauzin are joined by an increasingly bipartisan group of federal lawmakers—such as Representative Gary Condit (D-CA), Senator Larry Craig (R-ID), and Representative Jon Kyl (R-AZ)—whose landowning constituents have had enough. There are few congressmen from urban areas vocally defending property rights; they usually come from rural and suburban areas, where the crippling effects of environmental rules on landowners are all too obvious.

State Skirmishes

If Washington is finally getting the message about the primacy of property rights, state legislatures may soon be leading the charge. This year, 33 states debated at least 86 "takings" bills, which require impact studies before new environmental regulations are approved. Such bills typically mandate that the cost of new regulations—including financial compensation to landowners whose property values would decline—be borne by the relevant state agencies. Since most states have balanced budget amendments, the successful passage of takings legislation will surely dampen environmentally driven lawmakers. Prior to 1988, state capitols had hardly heard of takings legislation.

In 1994 alone, Idaho, Mississippi, Tennessee, and West Virginia passed some type of takings legislation. Five other states—Arizona, Delaware, Indiana, Washington, and Utah—adopted similar measures in 1992 and 1993. Legislatures in California, Missouri, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina are now considering property rights measures.

At the state level, landowners can expect an uphill battle. The environmental lobby—which includes private groups such as the Wilderness Society and the National Trust for Historic Preservation—has many allies in state environmental agencies. Eighteen states have defeated or tabled property rights bills this year; however, no one expects the issue to go away. "The takings issue will continue to spark contentious debate in Congress and in state legislatures," according to the National Wildlife Federation's publication *EnviroAction.*

The takings issue has become important in election campaigns as well. Consider the fates of Jim Jontz and Richard Pombo. Representative Jontz (D-IN) regularly sponsored bills to increase the land holdings of the federal government and enjoyed the support of environmentalists. Among his favorites was creating and expanding national dunes/recreation areas—at the expense of small landowners. But in 1992 property rights groups launched the "Dump Jontz" campaign, came into the district from

The Bettmann Archive

In 1989, President George Bush's pledge of "no net loss of the nation's remaining wetlands" produced an arbitrary and confusing set of regulations.

all over the nation, and knocked on doors. Jontz is now a Washington lobbyist.

Richard Pombo (R-CA), one of the co-founders of San Joaquin County Citizen's Land Alliance, a grass-roots property rights group, is an unlikely freshman congressman. Aside from one term on the Tracy City Council, he had never run for public office. In 1992 he ran in a safely Democratic district, and got virtually no financial help from the national GOP. But Pombo ran a strong property rights campaign and defeated a veteran politician.

Property rights issues are playing a significant role in Mary Chenoweth's congressional campaign in Idaho; in the Republican bid for governor in Maine; and in the Maryland gubernatorial race. In Virginia, Governor George Allen seems poised to follow through on campaign pledges to oppose unreasonable environmental restrictions. And in New Jersey, Governor Christine Todd Whitman is trimming the sails of the state's Department of Environment and Energy.

Wrestling in the Courts

The property rights revolution in the courts began with a question: The government must pay for the land it condemns to build a highway or other public goods under the Fifth Amendment's takings clause ("nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation"). But what if the government doesn't condemn your land outright, but commands you to devote it solely to public use; are you entitled to compensation?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reuters/Bettmann

Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt announces new efforts to protect a bird on the endangered species list. Such environmental efforts often hurt private landowners, who are fighting back with lawsuits, lobbying, and their votes.

This is no academic exercise for landowners. Government regulations routinely compel landowners to forgo the use of their property without compensation for wetlands, historic preservation, endangered species, and a range of public goods. Lawyers call these restrictions "regulatory takings." While regulatory takings of private land are expected to deliver some public benefit, the cost is borne entirely by the property owner.

Mark Pollot, a Reagan Justice Department official, and Tom Hookano, another Reagan veteran, convinced the president to issue Executive Order 12630, requiring all federal agencies to assess all regulations and take steps to lessen the potential claims by property owners. "Government actions that do not formally invoke the condemnation power, including regulations, may result in a taking for which just compensation is required," Reagan wrote.

Meanwhile, the courts were wrestling with the same question. Reagan's Executive Order and a 1985 book by University of Chicago law professor Richard Epstein entitled *Takings* provided the intellectual framework to reinterpret the takings clause. A string of cases brought before Reagan-appointed judges soon put this legal theory to the test.

At the center of the legal revolution is a small, 18-judge court a stone's throw from the White House. The U.S. Court of Federal Claims was once so obscure that clerks fielded calls from Washingtonians seeking the small claims court. Today, the federal court that handles all contract, pay, and property disputes between citizens and the federal government has assumed a higher profile. Most regulatory takings cases originate in this trial court.

"The Claims Court has been at the forefront of attempting to rationalize theories of takings for a long time, and much of what the Supreme Court has said about it has been anticipated by the Claims Court," Kevin Coakley, a New Jersey lawyer who practices before the court, told *Legal Times*. Last year, 52 more regulatory takings cases were filed with the claims court, the most in at least a decade. A total of nearly 200 regulatory takings cases are now pending in this court alone, with an estimated $1 billion in outstanding claims.

Firing the First Shot

The problem with regulatory takings, Chief Claims Court Judge Loren Smith says, is that often he is searching for a law that doesn't exist, there is so little coherent doctrine. Takings law "is really the antithesis of law...every case is its own law." This is a problem for both the federal government and property owners, the chief judge says, because neither can plan without the certainty of law. In other words, the courts are poised to redefine takings law.

The takings revolution began when the Court of Federal Claims heard *Whitney Benefits* v. *United States*, in which a Wyoming coal mining company lost its right to mine due to the 1977 Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act. The court ruled in favor of the mining company and awarded $150 million. This decision was followed by *Loveladies Harbor*, in which a New Jersey developer sued after being barred from building on part of his land due to federal wetlands regulations. The Court awarded $2.6 million in compensation. Then, in *Florida Rock*, a limestone mining operation was also hamstrung by wetlands regulations. The Court found that the regulation had confiscated a property right and ordered compensa-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion—this time more than $1 million, plus interest.

These cases form the rough foundation for a growing number of claims on the federal treasury. Citing precedent, in 1991 the Court awarded more than $900,000 in compensation to a Minnesota landowner when wetlands regulations denied him the use of his land. After seven years of losing legal battles, the Justice Department finally agreed to throw in the towel in another wetlands takings case—paying a settlement of more than $760,000 to developer Luther Stallings's Beure Company.

Landmark Ruling

On the heels of the Court of Federal Claims decisions, the Supreme Court has decided several major property rights cases that have effectively enshrined the concept of regulatory takings into law. One of the most important cases was handed down in 1992: *Lucas* v. *South Carolina Coastal Council.*

David Lucas, a Charleston, South Carolina developer, paid more than $900,000 for two vacant parcels on a private beach community on the Atlantic Ocean. He planned to build a house for his family on one plot and a house to sell on the other. He took out a mortgage and obtained building permits.

Then came a regulatory wipeout. The state passed the Beachfront Management Act, its way of saying no to further development along the coast. It forbade beachfront construction beyond certain setback lines. Lucas soon realized there was no way he could build.

His land was now worth less than zero, because he had to pay taxes and insurance on land he couldn't use. When he had exhausted his bureaucratic appeals, he took the South Carolina Coastal Council, the regulating agency, to court for compensation. The state court ruled in Lucas's favor and awarded him $1.2 million. But he never collected. The Council appealed to the state supreme court, which 3-2 ruled against Lucas.

THE SUPREME COURT FOUND THAT LAND OWNERS ARE ENTITLED TO COMPENSATION WHEN A REGULATION DENIES THEM THE PRUDENT USE OF THEIR LAND.

Lucas took a long shot and appealed to the Supreme Court. The *Wall Street Journal* billed the suit as "what may be one of the most important cases to come before it [the Supreme Court] this century." *Lucas* v. *South Carolina Coastal Council* promised to make clear 70 years of muddy jurisprudence.

Lucas won. The Supreme Court, essentially supporting much of the earlier work of the Claims Court, found that land owners are entitled to compensation when a regulation denies them the prudent use of their land. That was June, 1992. Almost exactly a year later, with the bank closing in and the state still dragging its feet over various legal matters, Lucas decided to settle. He received $1.5 million to cover the cost of the two lots, and to pay his bankers and lawyers. "I had to salvage what I could," he explains.

Still, by making South Carolina compensate him for their regulations, Lucas won both money and a moral victory. "You have to reach into their pockets to educate them that they just can't steal a man's land," Lucas says.

Once in possession of the oceanfront lots, the Coastal Council's environmental views changed. After nearly five years of legal combat, a spokesman for the Council said that it really doesn't make sense to maintain the lots as "open space" or "erosion control." The lots are surrounded by other houses, the spokesman explained, and the beach is private anyway.

IF THE GOVERNMENT MUST PAY DAMAGES WHEN IT TAKES 100 PERCENT OF THE PROPERTY VALUE, WHAT ABOUT 95 PERCENT OR 5 PERCENT?

In order to recoup the more than $1.5 million the state awarded to Lucas, some of which came directly from the Council's budget, the Council now plans to sell the property—for development. In the wake of *Lucas*, courts must now award damages in cases in which regulations deprive a land owner of all economically viable uses.

Still, the 26-page decision written by Justice Antonin Scalia left a number of unresolved issues, which may be first addressed in Smith's court. In a footnote well known to lawyers specializing in property cases, Justice Scalia left open the issue of partial takings. In *Lucas*, the court found that the government had to pay only when it took *all* economically viable uses of a property.

If the government must pay damages when it takes 100 percent of the property value, what about 95 percent or five percent? There is no principled difference between paying compensation in any of those instances. "The Constitution forbids petit [petty] larceny as much as grand theft and it does not distinguish between the taking of some property and the taking of all property," Mark Pollot writes in his book *Grand Theft and Petit Larceny.*

In the category of petty larceny, Florence Dolan may have taught local governments a real lesson. The city of Tigard, Oregon, agreed to let her rebuild the A-Boy Hardware Store she owned only if she agreed to give up more than 10 percent of her land for a city bike path and storm-water drainage—without compensation. Since these amenities were unrelated to her hardware store, Dolan sued.

By the time Dolan made it to the Supreme Court, local governments feared a loss would force them to rewrite thousands of local land use rules. Dolan argued that she alone shouldn't be forced to pay for a benefit for the whole community. The court found for Dolan, holding that, "We can see no reason why the Takings Clause of the Fifth Amendment, as much a part of the Bill of Rights

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Bettmann Archive

Prudent deregulation, coupled with lower property taxes for wetlands, would give property owners a financial incentive to care for their land.

as the First Amendment or the Fourth Amendment, should be relegated to the status of a poor relation."

In other words, lower courts should pay more attention to property rights. Local governments no longer can place burdens on property owners unrelated to the use of their lands. Justice John Paul Stevens, writing in dissent, may have hit upon the wider importance of *Dolan*. He called the key elements of the high court's analysis in *Dolan* "potentially open-ended sources of judicial power to invalidate state economic regulation."

Revolt in the Suburbs

In addition to these judicial victories, the property rights movement is sure to get a boost when Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt's report on the environment becomes more widely circulated. The March 1994 report subtly asks that the mortgage-interest tax deduction be curtailed by making such deductions "subject to review under the 404 program," the federal wetlands program administered by several different agencies. If the Interior Department succeeds in convincing Congress to deny interest deductions for homes in wetlands, there is sure to be a property rights revolt in the suburbs.

In Congress, Representative Billy Tauzin and others promise to attach property rights amendments to all environmental legislation, which will force environmentalist lawmakers into a series of painful votes. Soon a "stand alone" property rights bill—requiring all federal regulation to be assessed for its impact on property rights, and stipulating that money be set aside to compensate landowners—will come to a floor vote in the House of Representatives. Similar legislation has already cleared the Senate twice.

Environmentalists should begin asking themselves: How do we protect the earth if the property rights movement succeeds? A conservative/conservationist alliance could be forged around certain common ideas. A sure winner: Ending environmentally destructive subsidies. An array of federal programs, from farm subsidies and below-cost timber sales to federal canal and highway projects, actually encourage landowners and states to disrupt the environment. A more limited government would harm the environment less. Uncle Sam is usually not a good steward: Most of the land managed by federal agencies is in relatively poor condition.

Environmentalists should remember their early days, when they often used property rights to protect unpopular species and bar development on pristine land. It was one woman, Rosalie Edge, who bought a mountain and saved most of the hawk population of the northeast at a time when several state governments were trying to eradicate the birds. Today, Hawk Mountain is a world-renowned bird sanctuary.

Prudent Deregulation

Instead of learning these environmental lessons, activists continue to support an array of federal regulations that make it difficult for landowners to protect coastal wetlands from erosion. The regulations even forbid construction of sunken weirs to prevent beach erosion.

Prudent deregulation coupled with lower property taxes for wetlands could save most of them. Such measures would give property owners a financial incentive to protect wetlands and minimize adverse impacts. The tax break should include wetlands that are man-made and scaled according to the quality of wetland. Allowing hunting, fishing, and other recreational uses of private wetlands would provide an even greater financial incentive for landowners to safeguard wetlands.

So far, the property rights movement has managed to stall the agenda of what they call "the green machine" in and out of Congress. If current trends continue, property rights advocates will succeed in adding balance and sound science to the environmental legislation of the past 25 years. And, unlike the tax revolt, the property rights agenda has found a permanent home in the courts and state houses.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The most politically interesting quarterly in the English-speaking world." *-The Economist*

Don't miss the Fall 1994 issue of

The Public Interest

The Question of Black Crime

John J. DiIulio, Jr.

Commentaries by:
Glenn C. Loury, Paul H. Robinson, Richard T. Gill, Patrick A. Langan, & James Q. Wilson

A New Era for Public Utilities	*Irwin M. Stelzer*
Why Babies Die in D.C., Part II	*Sanders Korenman vs. Nicholas Eberstadt*
School Choice Slandered	*Daniel McGroarty*

A De-moralized Society

Gertrude Himmelfarb

Books in Review:
Roger Kimball, Roger D. Masters, Alan Ehrenhalt, & Paul A. Cantor

The Public Interest Subscription Dept. • P.O. Box 3000, Dept. PI • Denville, NJ 07834

Name _____

Address _____

_____

❑ Enclosed is a check for $21. Please sign me up for four quarterly issues.
❑ Bill me.
❑ Charge my credit card.

MC/VISA/AmEx (circle one)
Account # _____
Expiration _____
Signature _____

PM94F

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Don't Stand So Close to Me

Judges Are Giving Neighborhoods a Bum Rap

Wesley R. Smith

For years Richard Kreimer was a regular at the Morristown, New Jersey public library. Dressed in soiled and sweat-soaked clothes, the homeless man spent his days stalking, staring down, and speaking loudly and belligerently to library staff and patrons. Kreimer's foul smell and anti-social behavior literally drove people from the facility, a fact many witnesses observed. By 1990, the townspeople had enough; they wanted Kreimer out of their library. Numerous complaints forced the library's board of directors to pass a regulation barring individuals guilty of "staring at another with the intent to annoy" and "patrons whose bodily hygiene is so offensive as to constitute a nuisance to other persons." The new rule was aimed at Kreimer, and the police evicted him from the library.

Kreimer, however, had no intention of going peacefully. He sued the library and the police, charging that the library rules discriminated against him based on his status as a homeless person. Owing to the circumstances of his homelessness, Kreimer claimed he should not be expected to bathe. Library director Nancy Byouk Hammeke disagreed. The case, she said, was "not about homelessness. There are homeless people in this library every day, dozens of them. This case was about anti-social behavior."

Don't Say "Shhh"

Kreimer's case came up before federal district Judge Lee Sarokin, one of the most liberal judges in the federal court system, who immediately agreed to hear the case and appointed lawyers to represent Kreimer; the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) leapt to his defense as well. Sarokin overturned the library hygiene regulation. "If we wish to shield our eyes and noses from the homeless, we should revoke their condition, not their library cards," Sarokin said in his decision. He claimed that "the cause of the revulsion may be of our own making," and that the library "cannot condition access on behavior, appearance, or hygiene" because it is an "unreasonable wealth classification." Sarokin also struck down the library rule that visitors "not annoy others through noisy or boisterous behavior"—suddenly, it was unconstitutional to say "Shhh" at the Morristown library. Fighting these intrusions to peace and order ultimately cost Morristown taxpayers over $250,000 in legal fees; Kreimer was awarded $230,000 in damages.

Judge Sarokin's decision eventually was overturned on appeal, but the continued legal threats from Kreimer and his support from liberal activists, including the ACLU, eventually forced the city of Morristown to award Kreimer $150,000 out of court. Town officials said they could not afford the costs of the continuing legal battles with Kreimer and his court-appointed attorneys. The library also settled with Kreimer, to the tune of $80,000.

Preludes to Crime

This year President Clinton and the U.S. Senate took Kreimer's side in the dispute. Clinton nominated Judge Sarokin to the U.S. Court of Appeals, where he is expected to be easily confirmed. Sarokin's appointment should worry those concerned about civil order: Legal and political decisions that ignore community standards of behavior are devastating American cities, towns and neighborhoods—just as social scientists predicted over a decade ago.

A string of states and hundreds of localities are now reaffirming the age-old connection between public orderliness and urban rot: Fed-up legislators are passing or trying to pass laws that restrict anti-social behavior, ranging from early curfews in Baltimore, to truancy laws in Milwaukee, to anti-loitering statutes in Berkeley.

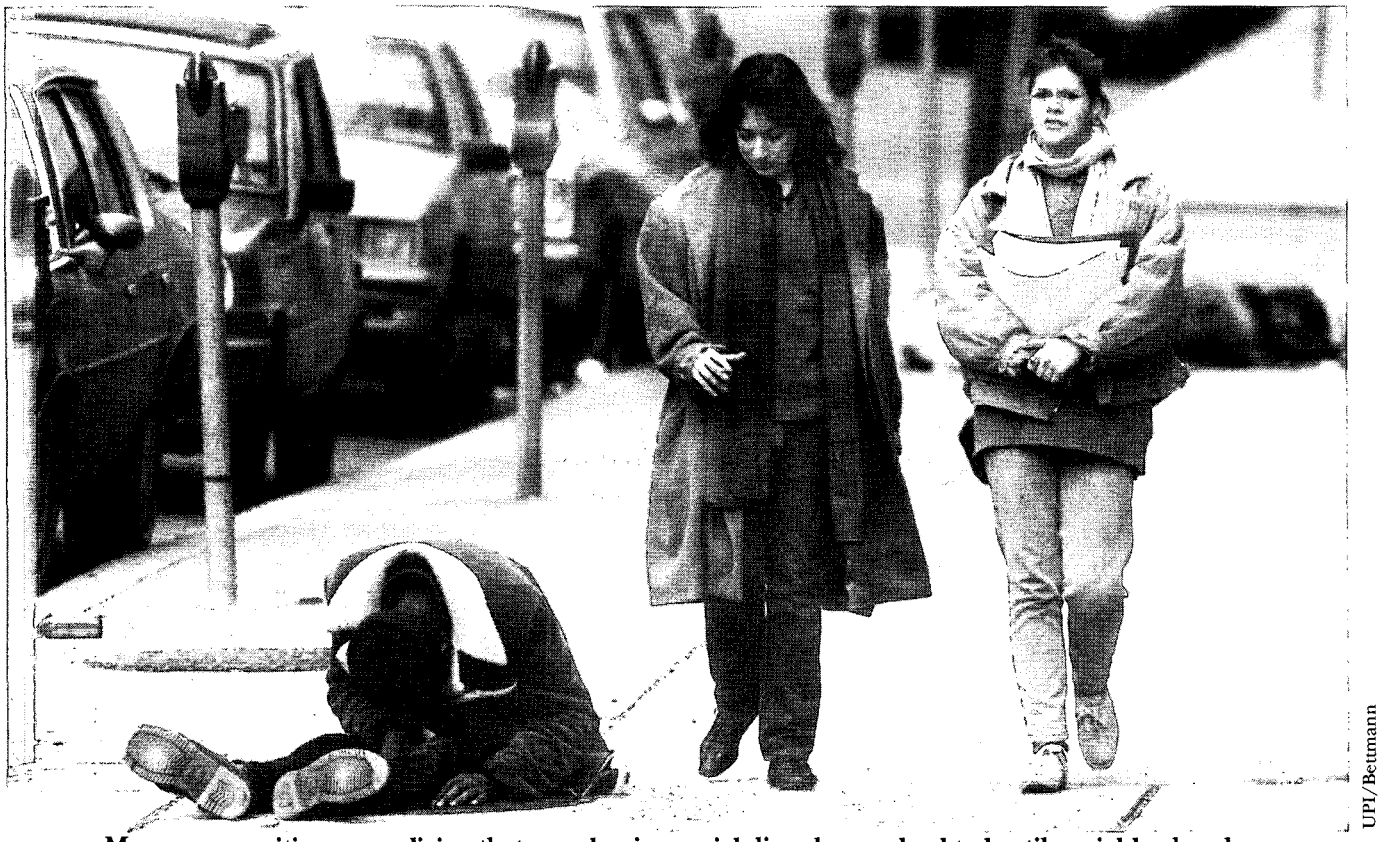
Prior to the 1970s, such "order-maintenance" laws were powerful tools in a community's fight against anti-social behavior. Public drunkenness, gangs planted on street corners, schools drenched in graffiti—these are the preludes to serious crime, for they help create an environment in which crime can flourish. Once restrictions against such behavior are removed, cities begin to unravel, neighborhood by neighborhood.

That is the unambiguous verdict from communities all over the country, in affluent and working-class areas, in the suburbs, and even in small, rural townships:

Drunks, drug dealers and gangs have taken over parts of downtown Santa Monica, California. Last Christmas, Santa Monica families driving by Palisades Park to view the nativity scene were accosted by dealers trying to sell

Wesley R. Smith *is deputy director of the Governors Forum at The Heritage Foundation.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



UPI/Bettmann

Many communities are realizing that even benign social disorder can lead to hostile neighborhoods, fear among the law-abiding, and an increased likelihood of crime.

them crack cocaine through their car windows.

Washington D.C.'s Georgia Avenue, once the city's most bustling black retail center, is fading fast. Businesses are shutting their doors as drug dealers take over street corners and scare away customers. Drunks urinate on the sidewalks and young men harass women at local bus stops, forcing them to run a gauntlet of verbal abuse before reaching home.

In Will County, Illinois, a suburb south of Chicago, gangs intimidate neighborhood residents, spray graffiti on houses, and have promised retaliation against any resident caught calling the police for help.

Blow to Civility

Neighborhood social order began to disintegrate when cities and states, under pressure from civil libertarians and the courts, repealed order-maintenance laws or simply failed to enforce those that remained. In 1972 the U.S. Supreme Court dealt a severe blow to public order and decorum when it struck down the city of Jacksonville, Florida's vagrancy and loitering statute. The decision in the case, *Papachristou* v. *City of Jacksonville*, invalidated most of the nation's vagrancy and anti-loitering provisions for being constitutionally vague and giving too much discretion to the police.

Not even critics of the *Papachristou* ruling deny that the Jacksonville ordinance was archaic and vague. The ordinance failed to define precisely what conduct would violate the statute, such as those provisions that prohibited one from being a "rogue" or a "habitual loafer." But the Court threw out the baby with the bathwater: Prohibitions against common drunkenness, lewd behavior, and disorderly conduct—and other effective deterrents to civic disorder and crime—were discarded as well.

Commenting on the decision, liberal Justice William O. Douglas, who wrote the majority decision, made sweeping proclamations about the repressive nature of order-maintenance laws, comparing them to regulations "long common in Russia." The Court went on to describe "wandering" as a virtue extolled by the great writers, such as Walt Whitman and Vachel Lindsay. In the footnotes to the decision, Douglas quoted Henry David Thoreau: "He who sits still in a house all the time may be the greatest vagrant of all. But the saunterer, in a good sense, is no more vagrant than the meandering river...." (Of course, the particular meandering in the *Papachristou* case involved the plaintiffs staking out a used-car lot, where a number of cars had been broken into or vandalized.)

The Court admitted that "unwritten amenities" such as loitering or "wandering" could not be found in the Constitution or the Bill of Rights, but were nonetheless a part of the Constitution because "they have encouraged lives of high spirits rather than hushed, suffocating silence." And lest any police force, mayor, or city council not get the message clearly, the Court portrayed any argument favoring such laws as too foolish to deserve comment: "The implicit presumption in these generalized vagrancy standards—that crime is being nipped in the bud—is too extravagant to deserve extended treatment."

The Court's rejection of the premise that order-maintenance laws prevented crime set the stage for the gradual

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Jersey Newsphotos

The entrance to a high school in Newark, New Jersey. This type of urban decay reduces quality of life for city dwellers, and is a major factor in the flight to the suburbs.

repeal or erosion of such laws across the country, and for the reluctance of the police and courts to enforce laws still on the books. Community rights began to be viewed with suspicion after *Papachristou*. Worse still, since the Court couched its arguments for individual freedom in eloquent constitutional principles, defending community rights was viewed as repressive, racist, and morally flawed. Many political leaders learned to accept the theory that isolated incidences of "individual expression" would not be harmful to a community, without looking at the collective damage such expressions could inflict.

Escape from New York

Few individual-rights advocates of the *Papachristou* era anticipated the consequences of giving citizens unfettered freedom in public settings.

The first victims were the people who used the nation's public spaces—parks, sidewalks, plazas, city stoops, and playgrounds—concentrated in urban areas. Panhandlers could no longer be "moved along" city sidewalks, drunks were free to lay unconscious in gutters, and gangs roamed at will. Graffiti on walls, sidewalks, and subways sent a clear message to the non-criminal population: THIS IS OUR SPACE.

But neither citizens nor the police risked breaking up the gangs on the street corner, or asking the loiterer to move out of their doorways, even though such "hanging out" was often the prelude to neighborhood vandalism. To take a hard line against such behavior was to risk a lawsuit charging harassment, discrimination, or police brutality. Public interest attorneys and civil libertarians were quick to jump to the defense of loiterers, bums, winos, and worse, even when it became clear that such public disorder led to bigger problems: theft and vandalism, drug dealing, mugging, and other street crimes.

The flight from the inner cities that started with the urban violence of the 1960s was fueled by the increasingly poor quality of life for urban residents in the 1970s. Eventually, the deteriorating and hostile environment drove frustrated and fearful middle- and working- class families off the sidewalk, out of the parks, and eventually out of the cities.

The escape from New York serves as the most stunning example of the damage caused by increasing civic disorder. According to a survey conducted by the Commonwealth Fund and the Manhattan Institute in 1992-93, 17 percent of former New York City residents said minor crimes and disturbances were a major factor in their decision to move; 22 percent said had their neighborhoods been kept free of graffiti, litter, and broken signs they most likely would have stayed; 59 percent of those who moved did so to improve their "quality of life." An overwhelming 60 percent say that graffiti, homeless people, noise, and panhandlers reduce the quality of life, making them prime candidates for flight from the city.

Broken Windows

Among the first to popularize the idea that too much social freedom might be threatening the social order were political scientists James Q. Wilson and George Kelling. In a groundbreaking 1982 *Atlantic Monthly* article, they introduced the "broken windows" theory, which suggested that abandoned social controls had created hostile conditions that drove law-abiding citizens behind doors—or even out of the city into the suburbs. This left criminal elements freer to commit crime, in the same way a broken window on a car invites further vandalism. Their arguments resounded through cities across America, where local governments were facing precisely these problems. Having allowed too much freedom for individuals for so long, many cities found that whole neighborhoods had been turned over to gangs, drug dealers, and various other thugs.

Wilson and Kelling argued that even benign social misbehavior could ultimately lead to hostile neighborhoods, fear among law-abiding citizens, and more crime. Most jurisdictions that addressed these problems, however, initially aimed their laws at specific conduct that led directly to criminal behavior. St. Petersburg, Florida was one of the first cities to actively pursue this strategy. In 1987, the city passed an anti-loitering law aimed at reducing prostitution along Maybry and Nebraska streets. Before the new law was enacted, according to local business owner Charles Shell, "You had prostitution, you had

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

drugs, you had purse-snatching, you had it all." The law was narrowly tailored, requiring police to find probable cause that a crime was being committed. In 1989, the ordinance was expanded to include loitering connected with the sale and use of drugs. From 1989-1992, police arrested several thousand people for drug dealing alone.

In spite of the ordinance's success in cleaning up the streets, and even though it was narrowly crafted, in 1992 the Florida Supreme Court struck down the law. Writing for the majority, Chief Justice Rosemary Barkett declared that the statute was too vague, and could prohibit harmless activities such as hailing a cab. Since the law was repealed, prostitution, drug dealing, and other street crimes have returned to the area. Justice Barkett, by the way, was appointed by President Clinton to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, confirmed by the Senate, and now serves on the 11th Circuit.

Influenced by the Barkett decision, similar ordinances in Seminole County, Florida were withdrawn before they could be challenged in the courts; Orlando's anti-loitering ordinance fell in May 1993. While in effect, the Orlando law was used extensively to fight prostitution and drug activity along the South Orange Blossom Trail in Orlando. Both of these ordinances were narrowly tailored after a 1988 Tacoma, Washington law that sets out similar criteria for probable cause before making an arrest.

David Spain, Orlando City Attorney, says that when his city's ordinance was overthrown by the Florida Supreme Court last year the communities in the city "lost their mechanism to deal with drugs and prostitution. Previously, officers could approach or search with probable cause. Now there is no mechanism to stop this criminal activity. Officers are forced to sit by and watch it take place."

Losing Loiterers

In spite of the setbacks in Florida, several California communities including San Diego, Vista, and Oceanside have adopted similar drug-related, anti-loitering statutes. Under these ordinances, the police make arrests only if several criteria are met, which taken together constitute probable cause that a crime is being committed. Probable cause exists if a person: 1) transfers small objects in a secretive or furtive way, 2) belongs to a gang, 3) acts as a "lookout," 4) is in an area known for illegal drug activity, or 5) takes flight upon appearance of a police officer. According to Lt. Frank Nunez, who works under San Diego's new anti-loitering/drug-dealing ordinance, the law "allows us to get our foot in the door... It is a means to contact them, and if it turns out they are not involved then we will turn them loose."

Even Berkeley, a city famous for its cutting-edge support of liberal causes, has had enough of kids hanging out: The city passed an anti-loitering statute last May to combat pervasive drug-peddling among the city's young male population. Betty Johnson, a resident of Berkeley since 1958, has seen her neighborhood taken over by open-air drug markets. Young men loiter on street corners and ignore any appeals from citizens to move on. "You see the money and the transaction, and if you call, by the time the police come, they're gone or they hide it [the drugs] in the bushes."

Other cities known for their liberal politics are now calling for greater social control and civic decorum. San Francisco recently passed an anti-panhandling law, making it a crime to beg within 30 feet of an automated teller machine (ATM). Known as Proposition J, this law is the offspring of a city-wide ordinance outlawing aggressive panhandling that the federal court struck down in 1993. New York City saw a broad anti-panhandling passed in 1990 law invalidated in 1993, but is now debating passage of a new law that criminalizes panhandling within 15 feet of any ATM. Similar laws have been created in the last two years in Washington D.C.; Seattle,Washington; Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; and El Paso, Texas. In 1992 Atlanta enacted an aggressive panhandling and anti-trespassing law in its downtown area; in the first year the law was in place, thefts from parked cars were reduced 15 percent.

Squeegee Patrol

In addition to loitering with the specific intent to commit a crime, there is a broad range of social misbehavior that, although not violent or criminal, helps create a hostile environment where crime can flourish. Wilson and Keeling call this "untended behavior"—rowdy youths, public drunkenness, begging, public urination, graffiti, even playing loud music on the street.

Such problems can drive the civil, law-abiding citizens out of the public areas, and ultimately the neighborhood. These law-abiding "regulars" are imperative to a successful neighborhood; without the regulars, the police lose powerful allies in controlling crime—community watchfulness and disapproval. This creates a vacuum in which criminal elements can operate more freely, and those tempted to commit a crime for the first time are more inclined to follow through.

New York's new Republican Mayor, Rudolph Giuliani, calls this incivility "visible signs of a city out of control, a city that can't protect its space or its children." Giuliani campaigned on a promise to improve neighborhood decorum and bring greater order to the city's decaying social infrastructure. On top of his hit list are the so called "squeegee gangs," window cleaners who intimidate drivers into paying for cleaning car windshields at stop lights. Giuliani is also targeting aggressive panhandlers, graffiti vandals, and drunks. Says Jeremy Travis, deputy commissioner of police: "The government has a responsibility to make people feel comfortable in public spaces. Steps must be taken to prevent low-level behavior, such as urinating in public, graffiti, and loud noise. When people are afraid to come out of their homes, the vitality of urban life is threatened."

New York does not have to look far to see where enforced civility can reduce crime rates. Between 1990 and 1993, when the New York City Transit Police instituted a program to crack down on disorderly conduct, subway robberies fell by 40 percent. According to Travis, "Our belief is that if you take care of the little things, the big things will follow." The little things have not yet been taken care of in Times Square. People using the public phones on the south side of Times Square during early morning hours see can a drug addict shooting up in an adjacent phone booth. Trash is everywhere, and street hustlers, prostitutes, drunks, pick-pockets, and ever-pre-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sent marauding gangs have given the area notoriety as Crimes Square.

Critics say Giuliani's programs are a not-so-veiled "war on the poor" and that more social services are needed to combat social decay, not law enforcement. But even some of the most liberal city administrators are beginning to realize that social services, without effective laws that enforce community standards, have little impact on preventing inner-city blight.

Seattle Vice

Seattle, like many other big cities, fought urban decay throughout the 1970s and 1980s by increasing services to the homeless, while decriminalizing anti-social behavior like loitering, public drunkenness, and vagrancy. That strategy, argues Seattle's City Attorney Mark Sidran, allowed a smaller group of the mentally ill, homeless, and criminal population of the city to wreak havoc on social order, despite extensive social services.

Nearly 1,000 American cities are beginning to enforce old curfews or create new ones to deal with juvenile crime.

During a six-month study in 1992, Sidran found that 800 people had received two or more citations for drinking in public, and 89 had received six or more, but none had paid their fines. Without any credible punishment to curb their public drinking, a small group of people continually broke the law. The drinking led to other problems. Although public toilets were available near downtown's Occidental Park, people were urinating in the park itself, as well as at other public sites. Says Sidran, "Some people make bad choices. This is not about getting people out of town. This is about getting people to behave. It is reasonable to expect that all of us who live here should comply with some simple, basic rules of civil behavior."

The Seattle ordinances, like others around the country, are an attempt to repress the disorderly behavior of people who are not deterred by anything short of the threat of jail time. They are aimed at people like David Todd. Todd is an alcoholic and drug addict who has spent most of his last 34 years in prison. Today he sits or lies on a corner in downtown Seattle. He has resisted repeated pleas by city officials and police to move himself, his dog, and his belongings to Westlake Park, located a block away. For Todd, lack of social services is not the problem, and his is not an isolated case. According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, one-third of all homeless are mentally ill, and roughly half have severe alcohol and drug-related problems.

Sidran fears that unless vagrancy is checked, Seattle may soon fall prey to the inner-city blight found in many large cities. He and the Mayor Norman Rice are pushing for tougher laws against aggressive panhandling, lying or sitting on sidewalks, and loitering. More is at stake than maintaining the city's aesthetics or merchants' revenue. As Sidran points out, "When people are deterred from using the sidewalk and storefronts close, a downward spiral of blight may begin." The evidence shows that if the law-abiding abandon the streets, the predators and criminals will replace them.

Frustrated by their inability to enact anti-loitering laws, some community activists are looking for alternatives to prevent disorderly conduct from ruining their towns. When Alexandria, Virginia's loitering statutes were declared unconstitutional in 1991, some community activists went after alcohol abusers. In 1992, Del Ray Citizen's Association President Rod Kuckro contended that incidents of public urination, disorderly conduct, foul language, and fighting were increasing because of heavy drinking in the neighborhood's parks and streets. The extensive administrative requirements of the law made it difficult for police to arrest people for public drinking, so Kuckro's group lobbied for a law to prohibit the sale of single servings of alcohol—such as a can of beer—at convenience and liquor stores. The law passed, and public drunkenness in Kuckro's neighborhood has declined considerably; today more families than drunks are using the parks.

Where Are the Kids?

Interest is also growing in reinstating juvenile curfew and truancy laws. Curfews were common in American cities until the 1960s, when they were largely discarded as remnants of a repressive era. But with the dramatic increase in juvenile crime throughout the 1980s, many jurisdictions are returning to curfews: Today, nearly 1,000 cities are either enforcing old curfews already on their books or creating new ones to deal with youth-related drug-dealing and violence.

In July, Baltimore launched a curfew requiring that youths under 17 years old are off the streets after 11 PM on weeknights and midnight on weekends. An Atlanta curfew implemented in 1991 imposes up to 60 days in jail and a $1,000 fine for parents of teenagers caught on the streets after 11 PM. Will County, Illinois Sheriff Thomas Fitzgerald proposes a curfew to break up gang-related burglaries, incidences of indecent exposure, vandalism, and harassment of the citizens just south of Joliet.

Hartford, New Britain, and New London, Connecticut have curfews that begin at 9 PM. Juveniles caught in the net are taken home. According to Hartford Police Chief Gerry Pleasant. "When you're having a crisis situation or tension between gangs, if you remove teenagers from the street, you're less likely to have encounters. It's a very important tool a town should have for enforcement purposes." During the first month of enforcement, Hartford police stopped 35 youths and arrested 26 of them for curfew violations. Recidivism of those offenders has been zero. According to Pleasant, under the new law, "the number of complaints about juvenile delinquency has gone down as well as the related crimes. The kids aren't there [on the streets] and they are safer."

Cities are also determined to get kids back in school, and are once again picking up truants. In Milwaukee, an eight-month-old truancy program has won wide support from parents, merchants, and other residents. In the first

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

semester, 4,000 teenagers were picked up, 2,000 detained as truants, and there have been only 100 repeat offenders. According to Milwaukee County Sheriff Richard Artison, "It's the low-income parents who are most in favor of the ordinance. They even thank us for it."

Artison says police find drugs and guns on some of the kids, but after being taken in once, few are found on the streets again. "We've all been talking about crime-prevention; this is one of the best ways." Ironically, the liberal groups that favor crime prevention programs, such as midnight basketball, over harsher sentences also generally oppose curfews, even though getting kids off the street at night can keep them out of trouble in the first place.

Bettmann

President Clinton visits merchants in Washington, D.C.'s Georgia Avenue corridor, once a bustling retail area, but now plagued by crime.

Slippery Slope

Although most city governments are focusing on narrow public behavior laws to target specific problems, civil libertarians and liberal judges are still opposed on three general grounds: The ordinances give police too much power; they unfairly target minorities and the poor; and they violate constitutional freedoms of association and speech. But these arguments appear to have little relevance to most of the nation's order-maintenance laws of the 1990s.

For instance, the ACLU has repeatedly raised the specter of the "slippery slope." According to this argument, when police violate a fundamental right, such as the right of free association, in order to catch drug-dealers, the police will then have unfettered authority to prevent law-abiding citizens from freely associating at street-side barbecues. This is the very argument ACLU Attorney John Crew used against San Francisco's ATM panhandling law when he said the law criminalizes behavior no more harmful than "using the public sidewalks to meet with a friend."

San Francisco Mayor Frank Jordan says he has no intention of arresting two friends on a sidewalk. He put the initiative on the ballot because after numerous panhandler assaults on tourists and San Francisco residents "people are sick and tired of feeling intimidated."

Rosemary Barkett used the same slippery slope analysis, coupled with a constitutional theory of her own, when she struck down the St. Petersburg anti-loitering ordinance. Barkett said the law gave too much discretion to the police who could punish such "time-honored pastimes in our society [such as] hailing a cab or friend, chatting on a public street, and simply strolling aimlessly." She failed to mention that of the over 3,500 arrests made under the law from 1989 to 1992, not one was made for chatting with friends, hailing a cab, or aimlessly wandering. In fact, argued Justice Parker McDonald in his dissenting opinion, since the police needed probable cause that a crime was being committed, the chances of wrongful arrest and conviction were practically nonexistent.

The federal court in Alexandria, Virginia also used similar reasoning to strike down that town's anti-loitering law, saying it could be used to prohibit "distributing campaign literature or exchanging business cards." But neither the Alexandria city council nor the police had any intention of stopping people from exchanging business cards—just drugs. The law was extremely explicit in describing the types of activities that would warrant an arrest. Now the ACLU is condemning a new law in Alexandria that outlaws aggressive panhandling defined as touching or threatening another person while asking him for money. The ACLU says it will "stigmatize the poor and target panhandlers for police observation."

Civil libertarians also fear new laws will violate the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment by singling out minorities for police surveillance. But the strongest curfew supporters today are black, Democratic politicians. Washington D.C.'s predominantly black city council is proposing a curfew. Curfews in Atlanta, Hartford, and Dallas were strongly supported by the black community and leadership in those cities. In Alexandria, Virginia and Charleston, South Carolina, black city councilmen have proposed similar curfews. The resistance, if any, generally comes from white, affluent liberals who do not live in the daily violence of inner-city neighborhoods.

When Monrovia, California passed an anti-loitering law in 1990 aimed at attacking the town's burgeoning open-air drug trade, civil libertarians said the plan would target black youths and other minorities. But after four years, the local NAACP has not received a single complaint. Drug sales in Monrovia have declined because citizens, including minorities, now have the law on their side and can threaten dealers who do not move along.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Newsday/Jon Naso

Rudolph Giuliani won his campaign to become mayor of New York City running on a tough law-and-order platform that included clearing the streets of drug dealers, loiterers, and the notorious "squeegee gangs."

Some of today's opposition to order-maintenance laws stems from their historic misuse by police to control minority populations, especially blacks living in the South. These abuses, however, have been greatly reduced under a new generation of laws that specifically proscribe various types of police conduct. Nonetheless, liberal judges continue to strike down even narrowly tailored statutes because of their dismissive attitude concerning community rights and their visceral distrust of the police.

Citizen Deputies

According to Orlando City Attorney David Spain, "the residents, police officers, and business owners know what happens on the streets and why. The judges are the only ones who don't seem to recognize the problem." It is not just the judges. The libertarian ethic that exalts individual freedoms above those of the community gained strong support among the media and academics in the 1960s before becoming an underlying assumption of the legal system. Today, the single-minded focus on individual rights is still paramount among many academics and libertarians, blinding them to the link between the physical environment of a neighborhood and its crime rate.

Groups opposing today's social order laws fear the abusive power of government in their neighborhoods. Yet most of these laws make community involvement in law enforcement more meaningful by effectively deputizing law-abiding citizens against those who wish to commit crimes themselves, or behave in a way that allows others to commit crimes more easily.

Unfortunately, the legal and political establishment in this country has been hostile to attempts by local jurisdictions to create and enforce their own community standards. They have opposed giving law enforcement officials the power to move loiterers along for fear of vesting the police with too much discretionary power. As a result, public spaces have been turned into virtual wastelands, city parks are littered with hypodermic needles and reek of human waste, shakedown artists intimidate passers-by on inner-city street corners, and gangs, not cops, serve as the neighborhood nightwatchmen.

As cities and towns begin to judge the usefulness of order-maintenance laws, they should not limit their studies to whether certain crimes might be directly prevented by them. The larger issue is whether these laws make neighborhoods more hospitable, prompt businesses to remain in or return to the area, keep working families in the city, and increase the number of law-abiding regulars that frequent the neighborhood's streets, parks, and shops. These things create a climate in which criminals have a harder time operating. This is what order-maintenance laws and the police did for over a century.

Towns and cities are now turning back to that model and reaping the benefits in increased security and reduced crime. Before Santa Monica passed its drug-related anti-loitering statute, the Palisades Park was a haven for drug dealers. "Before, the only people in the parks were drug pimps, and now seniors are playing shuffle board and the children are playing ball," says Councilman Kelly Olson. "The park is back in the hands of the people." Whether it stays in their hands will depend in large part on how much the federal judiciary allows cities to balance the individual rights of their citizens with those of the community.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thy Brother's Keeper

The Mutual Aid Tradition of American Fraternal Orders

David T. Beito

With the collapse of the Clinton health plan, Americans can go back to the drawing board in finding a way to provide low-cost health insurance to the working poor. It is not necessary to raise taxes, levy price controls, impose employer mandates, or establish a byzantine federal bureaucracy to offer such assistance. A useful model for low-cost health insurance for the working class may be found in the fraternal organizations of America's past.

Colonial Brotherhood

Fraternal organizations are as old our as history—indeed, the first of these groups came to America with the colonists. The most important fraternal society to take root in the colonies was the Freemasons, known today as the Masons, a secret society imported from Britain. The first American Masonic lodge opened in Boston in 1733.

Primarily a social organization, members of the Freemasons shared a desire for fraternity, secrecy, and ritual; but an important element of the commitment to the lodge was a pledge of mutual aid to fellow members in times of need. Freemasonry was considered a sign of respectability among the colonists, as it had been in Britain. Recruitment in the early years was from the elite of colonial society, and included a number of the Founding Fathers. Many independent Masonic lodges had been established by the dawn of the American Revolution, generally in larger cities.

The Revolution spread the Freemasons throughout the colonies as initiates flocked to special traveling lodges chartered for their troops. Meanwhile, revolutionary leaders such as George Washington and Paul Revere, both avid Freemasons, widened the appeal of membership. The Revolution quickened a trend, already underway by the 1750s, to broaden the base of Mason brotherhood beyond a narrow upper crust; artisans and skilled workers joined in large numbers. Charitable funds to be used for the good of needy members were common among the lodges, financed by an annual assessment of those belonging to each lodge.

The Freemasons, beginning a trend that would reach into the 20th century, used these funds to assist sick or needy members and their families, as well as support orphans of members and pay for member funerals. Masonic principles dictated that charitable giving should favor brethren; to "...prefer a poor Brother that is a good Man and true, before any other poor people in the same circumstances," according to an early tract. In addition to financial help, Freemason brothers enjoyed such intangible benefits as character references, employment information, and temporary lodging. Freemasonry remained popular among America's political leaders; 14 U.S. presidents have been members, from George Washington to Gerald R. Ford.

Center of Community

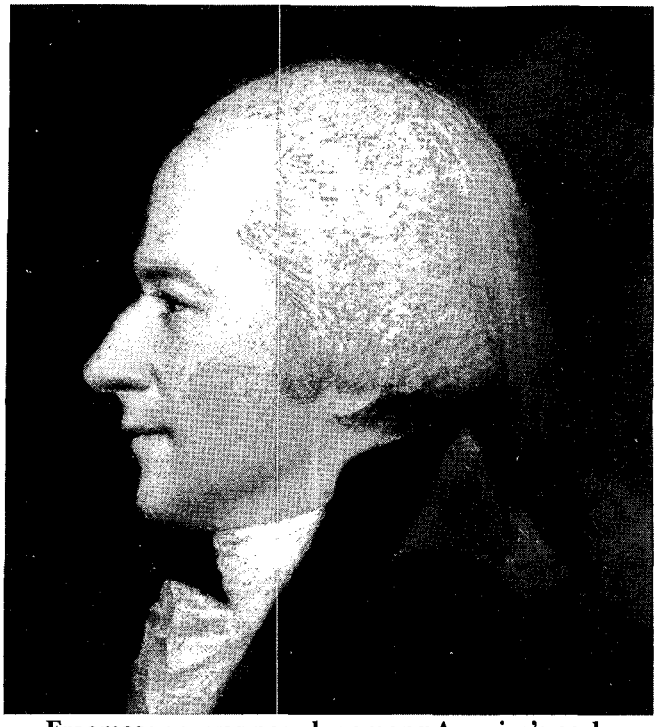
Based on the Masonic model, other groups sprang to life throughout the 19th century. These included both secret societies, such as the Elks and the Odd Fellows, and a large number of fraternal insurance societies. The fraternal orders' memberships were not as broad-based or large as the secret societies, and generally were centered around a particular occupation, but shared with secret societies a system of lodge organization, a democratic form of internal government, ritual, and mutual aid for members and their families.

The major difference between the two types of groups was that secret societies usually did not provide formal insurance policies to their members, while insurance coverage was a key benefit of fraternal society membership. Insurance coverage was still rare in the 19th century; many Americans with any type of insurance were covered through their affiliation with a fraternal organization. The insurance provided by these groups was invariably some form of death benefit. These payments began as small sums, often just enough to pay for a funeral. As membership spread and the actuarial base grew, benefits increased as well, but were always viewed as a supplement to other means of support—a way to help the family get back on its feet after the death of the bread-winner.

By the end of the 19th century, lodge membership was a common feature of life among both working-class and wealthier Americans. Especially in urban areas, fraternal affiliation was a means not only to insure the family, but to enhance older forms of community and mutual aid

David T. Beito *is an assistant professor of history at the University of Alabama.* *Portions of this article appeared in* Critical Review, *Fall 1990.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



National Archives

Freemasonry was popular among America's early political leaders, including James Madison, who attended meetings in Charlottesville, Virginia.

based on blood ties, geography, and religion. The lodge, with its raffles, bake sales, picnics, and other celebrations was a center of community life in many urban neighborhoods. Lodge membership became extremely popular among Americans of all income levels; many joined more than one group. Around 1920, some 18 million Americans belonged to these societies: Nearly 30 percent of all adult males over age 20.

Insurer and Welfare Agent

The 20th century brought both expanded lodge membership and more formal and comprehensive fraternal insurance coverage and benefits. Thus the most vital role of the fraternal organization in the 20th century was that of insurer and welfare agent. These groups thoroughly dominated the health-insurance market and—with the possible exception of churches—were the leading providers of social welfare prior to the Great Depression.

The keystone of fraternal insurance protection remained the death benefit—actually a form of life insurance—paid to the beneficiary of deceased members. Such a policy was especially prevalent among wage earners. *Everybody's Magazine* noted in 1910 "Rich men insure in the big companies to create an estate, poor men insure in the fraternal orders to create bread and meat. It is an insurance against want, the poor-house, charity and degradation."

This passage illustrates an important reason fraternal insurance programs became so popular. Even the poorest of the working class abhorred the idea of accepting public charity—of "going to the poor-house." This strong aversion grew out of the notion that groups should "take care of their own"—only those with no family, friends, or filial associations were shamed into accepting public relief. Moreover, the fraternal concept of reciprocity was based on mutual obligation between the members. Lodge benefits were not unconditional entitlements, but neither were they charity; because the members had themselves contributed funds for the aid of their "brothers and sisters," each was entitled to a share of the pot.

Virtually all fraternal societies, regardless of their class or ethnic orientation, stressed the responsibility of individual members to provide assistance to "brothers and sisters" in need. A spokesman for the Modern Woodmen of America, for example, wrote, "A few dollars given here, a small sum there to help a stricken member back on his feet or keep his protection in force during a crisis in his financial affairs; a sick neighbor's wheat harvested, his grain hauled to market, his winter's fuel cut or a home built to replace one destroyed by a midnight fire—thus has fraternity been at work among a million members in 14,000 camps."

By the early 1900s, many fraternal societies began to institute formal health and accident insurance as well as death benefits. Those who purchased these policies—which cost relatively little, even for those earning a working-class salary—were entitled to benefits when laid up with an illness or injury. The implementation of sick benefits usually was left to the discretion of local lodges. Depending on the order and the particular lodge, the size, quality, and mix of fraternal medical benefits varied; the typical medical benefit was a weekly cash payment.

Fraternal members in California, for example, were eligible for sick benefits ranging between seven and ten dollars per week in 1917, while the maximum eligibility period was 13 weeks. Since the average duration of illness for workers, in terms of working days lost, was less than two weeks, most workers had coverage throughout their illnesses. Moreover, for those whose benefits had expired—and only about 10 percent of those subscribing to fraternal health insurance ever applied for benefits in one year—the lodge members commonly extended the benefits, or "passed the hat" to provide relief.

Fraternal orders were not restricted to men: A number of the men's groups had women's auxiliaries, such as the Eastern Star for the Masons and the Rebekahs for the Odd Fellows. There were also societies managed and funded solely by women. One of the largest of these was the Ladies of the Maccabees. The Maccabees called its lodges "hives" and offered members services that included maternity insurance.

The women's groups shared the same organizational structure as the male groups, and also the focus on mutual assistance. Fraternal groups touched women's lives in other ways as well. Most fraternal homes for the aged admitted the wives of members on the same terms as their husbands. A report of the Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age in 1919 showed that 76 percent of the residents of fraternal homes for the elderly were women. Women were the principal beneficiaries of death benefits from the fraternal groups as well.

Arsenal against Fraud

Before the Depression, fraternal societies commanded the health-insurance market among the working class while their competitors lagged far behind. In large part,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Jersey Newsphotos

Shriners visit a young hospital patient. Although lodge membership has declined throughout the 20th century, fraternal groups remain active in many communities.

the secret of their success lay in the peculiar competitive strengths offered by the fraternal structure itself. Unlike private companies, lodges were well positioned to check the threat of "moral hazard," the bane of the insurance industry. With health insurance, the major moral hazard is that individuals will take advantage of their insured status and overload the system with frivolous claims. The validity of a health insurance claim is often difficult for a private company to verify: It is hard to be certain whether the beneficiary is actually sick or not.

The fraternal society had several weapons in its arsenal to guard against moral hazard. First, each new applicant for membership had to present a certificate of good health from a doctor. Second, and most importantly, fraternal societies, unlike private companies, drew on extensive reserves of membership solidarity. It might be one thing to bilk a commercial insurance company with a phony claim, but the mutual benefit nature of fraternal coverage, not to mention the fact that it was fairly easy for lodge members to check up on each other, served as effective deterrents to malingerers.

House Calls

By 1910, fraternal sickness benefits increasingly included treatment by a doctor. Two of the most prominent organizations to engage in lodge practice were the Foresters and the Fraternal Order of the Eagles. The cost of this coverage was very inexpensive: The Foresters charged two dollars per year for a doctor's care, while the Eagles charged one dollar. This coverage could be extended to all members of a family, and included home visits and care. Lodge practice established an especially strong foothold in urban areas, where it greatly increased the number of Americans with access to a physician. In the lower east side of New York city, for example, 500 doctors had contracts to provide care for Jewish lodges alone.

The favored method of lodge practice was for societies or individual lodges to contract with a doctor to treat the members and their families on a per-person flat charge basis—not dissimilar to today's HMO. Lodge practice was particularly appealing to younger doctors who had just left medical school and were starting their practices. No one denied that it was hard work. Each covered member and his family was entitled to care from the doctor, including house calls. The hours were long and the pay low, but lodge practices offered almost unparalleled medical experience for new doctors. If they provided good care to their lodges, these doctors could build up private practices within a short time based on referrals and contacts from the members. As experienced doctors left lodge practices, they were replaced by younger or less experienced doctors who would provide inexpensive care.

Critics of lodge practice charged that the lodges were purchasing inferior care, and even quackery, from the new doctors, but the level of satisfaction among lodge members appears to have been high. Because lodges generally renewed their contracts with doctors on an annual basis, a doctor who provided poor care risked being dumped for another physician. Moreover, lodges competed with each other to hire doctors with good reputations and references, further increasing standards.

Dr. Samuel Silverberg, a lodge doctor during this era, recalled that the "society would pay me a certain amount for coverage for a certain number of patients—50 cents for every single member every three months, 75 cents or a dollar for a family. Every member had a right to come to my office and ask me to call at his house...The society member would recommend the doctor to his friends, and that way we could build up a practice. But it was hard, lots of running up and down tenement stairs."

Critics of lodge practice, especially independent phy-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sicians, charged that lodge members were stuck with treatment by inferior doctors who could not find patients any other way, but the facts do not bear this criticism out. Lodges were aggressive in interviewing and reviewing the doctors they hired, and reserved the right to fire them by giving them only one-year contracts. Lodge members themselves made the decision on renewal; if the members were not satisfied with the doctor's care, they voted to kill his contract.

"Lodge Practice Evil"

Not surprisingly, as lodge practice spread it sparked opposition from leading doctors, who feared it was a threat to traditional fee-for-service medicine. Private physicians characterized it as unfair competition, substandard medical care, and debasing to the medical profession. The Shasta County Medical Society of California warned the that lodge practice, if not restricted, would "place valuation on our service comparable to those of the bootblack and peanut vendor."

By the 1910s, medical societies and state commissions across America went on the offensive to wipe out the "Lodge Practice Evil, " or at least contain it. The House of Delegates of the California State Medical Society threatened to expel any doctor who contracted with any organization to provide care to families with monthly salaries in excess of $75 per month. The Committee on Contract Work of the Erie County, New York Medical Society recommended "antagonistic measures" against the contract practitioner "if persuasion fails to convince him of his error."

LODGES FILLED THE VOID LEFT BY THE UPROOTING OF IMMIGRANTS FROM THEIR EXTENDED FAMILIES AT HOME, AND HELPED PRESERVE THE CULTURE OF HOMELANDS WHILE PROMOTING AMERICAN PATRIOTISM.

Pressure from medical groups across the country effectively ended lodge practices by the 1920s. The demise of these medical services contributed greatly to the fraternal organizations' decline.

Ethnic Fellowship

An impressive, and largely unknown, historical accomplishment of fraternal and other mutual aid orders was their role in the resettlement of the vast immigrant waves of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The foreign-born constituted 40 percent of the population of America's 12 largest cities in 1900; their children added another 20 percent. Each immigrant group had at least one society—and usually more—to rely on. The lodge was the first place a new immigrant turned for housing, small loans, English lessons, advice on schools for their children, and help in finding employment.

Few institutions reflected the remarkable diversity of the American people in the early 20th century better than the network of fraternal organizations that developed among the immigrant populations. Poles were represented by the Polish National Alliance, a large organization that is still powerful in cities with large Polish-American populations. Italians turned to the Sons of Italy—still very popular—while the Irish formed hundreds of chapters of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Jews had numerous affiliations, including the B'nai B'rith, the Workman's Circle, and hundreds of *landsmanshaftn*, which were especially popular with Eastern European Jews. Mexicans belonged to the Alianza de Hispanos Americana; Greeks subscribed to the Hellenic Educational Progressive Association.

These fraternal groups filled the void left by the uprooting of the immigrants from their extended families at home; the groups became, in effect, the new family. Thus fraternal groups played an important part in establishing immigrant communities in the United States, preserving the culture and traditions of the native country, but promoting American patriotism as well.

The immigrant organizations filled another important role by providing insurance to their members, accounting for the high percentage of immigrants, most of whom were poor, carrying at least some form of insurance during the early 20th century. Coverage included the usual death benefits, support for widows and orphans, and often at least basic medical care.

Immigrant fraternal organizations generally placed a heavy emphasis on ethnic fellowship and solidarity, again re-creating the extended family system that was basic to so many American immigrant groups. Large numbers of fraternal groups sprang up with every new wave of immigration. A report by the Massachusetts Immigration Commission in 1914 identified two or more Greek societies in every town that had a Greek population. Springfield, Illinois, with a total Italian population of less than 3,000 in 1910, boasted a dozen Italian brotherhoods.

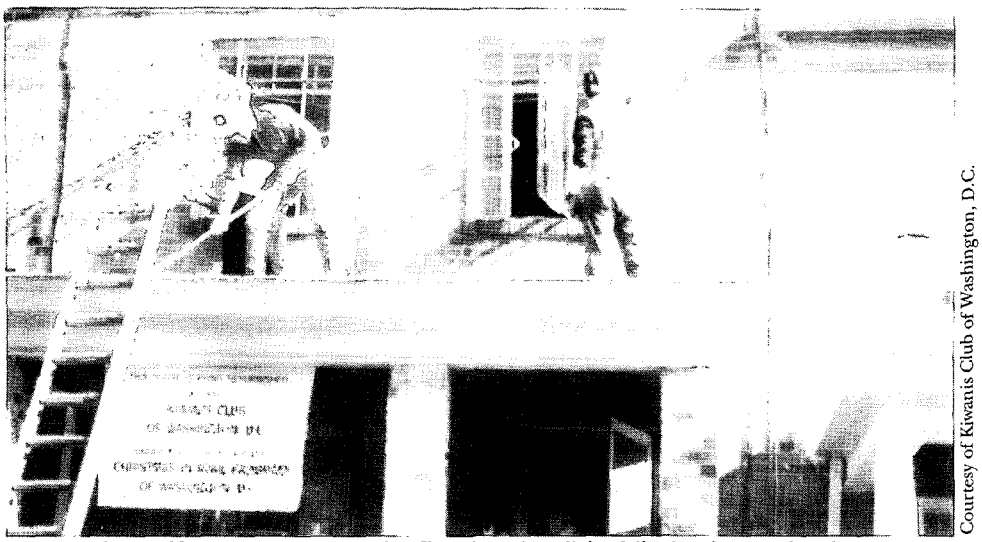
It is important to underscore that the aid offered by these groups to their members was not viewed as charity, but as an entitlement of membership based on mutual reciprocity. Nor were these limitless entitlements; members were expected to work. In 1910, a Mexican-American fraternal—or *mutualista*—journal, declared "One will never see Mexican tramps, not even among the most indigent, because he always works regardless of his age or his social and educational conditions, to win his daily bread with dignity."

The popularity of fraternal organizations was equally great among blacks. Excluded from the leading white orders, blacks formed their own parallel groups. In 1910, sociologist Howard W. Odum estimated that the "total membership of the Negro societies, paying and non-paying, is nearly equal to the church membership.... A single town having not more than 500 colored inhabitants not infrequently has from 15 to 20 subordinate lodges each representing a different order." Odum characterized fraternal societies as a "vital part" of black "community life, often its center."

The oldest, and most famous, of the black orders was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Prince Hall Masonic Order. During the 1920s and 1930s, the Order signed up over 30 percent of the adult male African Americans in many towns in the South. Local and state lodges provided a variety of mutual aid services, including medical insurance, orphanages, employment bureaus, and homes for the aged. The membership of the Prince Hall Masons is a *Who's Who* of African-American history: Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Oscar DePriest, Thurgood Marshall, Carl Stokes, Booker T. Washington, and W.E.B. DuBois.



Courtesy of Kiwanis Club of Washington, D.C.

As the welfare state reaches its fiscal and political limits, it may be time to rediscover the fraternal order's tradition of mutual aid.

African Americans established a number of national groups paralleling the Odd Fellows, the Elks, and the Knights of Pythias, while other groups, such as the True Reformers, the Knights and Daughters of Tabor, and the Grand United Order of Galilean Fisherman, did not have white counterparts. Even more common in some areas were local societies, such as the Young Men of Inseparable Friends, the Francis Amis, and the Holy Ghost, all located in the New Orleans area.

The membership of black lodges was enormous: In 1904, the black Prince Hall Masons, Odd Fellows, and Knights of Pythias boasted a total membership of over 400,000 members in 8,000 lodges scattered across the United States. These organizations did more than provide a social hub for their members. Like other fraternal groups, they gave their members access to affordable insurance. In fact, black societies were more likely than white ones to offer formal insurance policies to their members as well as informal mutual aid. An astounding number of African Americans carried insurance—generally at least life insurance or a death benefit—provided through their societies. In 1919, the Illinois Health Insurance Commission estimated that 93.5 percent of the African-American families in Chicago had at least one member with a life insurance policy, the highest rate for any group, even while blacks in this era worked overwhelmingly in low-paid and unskilled occupations.

Medical coverage was also provided by many black lodges, especially in the South. For many blacks, this lodge coverage was their principal access to medical care. The groups provided access to druggists, doctors, and undertakers at a low, flat rate. A few lodges even opened hospitals for their members, which made hospital treatment available to African Americans in some areas for the first time.

The Decline of Fraternal Aid

Although much research remains to be done on the decline of fraternal orders in the United States, we know that by 1925 these groups had reached their peak, and began a steady decline in numbers and membership. The pace of the descent quickened during the Great Depression, when orders devoted to particular professions lost much of their appeal. Membership today in all lodges is estimated to be only about half of its all-time high in the twenties.

As the 20th century progressed, and insurance became more formalized and affordable to the masses—as well as an employment benefit—a primary advantage of lodge membership disappeared. The relentless attacks by medical societies on lodge medical practices also weakened the organizations. Some historians credit the rising popularity of radio, and later television, as factors; the lodge became less important as a source of entertainment. Certainly the intrusion of World War II on the fraternal scene hurt membership; many lodges closed during this period.

But probably at least as important as these causes was the rise of the social welfare state. It is clear that weakened mutual aid coincided with the government's increasing role in providing assistance beyond the traditional almshouse. Mutual aid, and the organizations that sprang up to provide it, were creatures of necessity. When the government stepped in to take over some of the important social-welfare obligations of an aid society, the society's most important purpose disappeared; what was left was often merely a social club.

Sadly, the transition from mutual aid and self help to the welfare state was not merely a transfer of services from one institution to another. Much was lost in this exchange that transcended economics. The old relationships of fraternity, reciprocity, and autonomy were replaced with paternalism and dependency. The decline of mutual aid networks of neighbors and friends opened the door to impersonal bureaucracies dominated by outsiders.

It may be an opportune time to start recovering this older tradition, now that it is clear from the health care debate that the welfare state has reached its fiscal and political limits. The lodge or fraternity need not be the only forum for mutual aid. Working-class people could also join together for low-cost insurance through churches, labor unions, and ethnic associations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fall 1994

THE NATIONAL INTEREST

The *Real* Clash

James Kurth

"The real clash of civilizations will not be between the West and the Rest. It will be between the West and the post-West. That clash has already taken place within the brain of our civilization...It is now spreading to the body politic..."

The Op-Ed History of America

Michael Lind

The Future of War

Andrew Krepinevich
A.J. Bacevich

Warren Zimmermann: *A Pavane for Bosnia*
Graham Fuller: *The Appeal of Iran*
Daniel Pipes: *Is the PLO Zionist?*

Essays and Comments

David Brooks, Eliot Cohen, Richard Gott, David Levy, Neil McInnes, Alfred P. Rubin, J. Burke Wilkinson, Thomas Donnelly

A Year's Subscription (Four Issues)For $26!

☐ Bill me ☐ I enclose a check, VISA, AmEx, or Mastercard Number

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Credit Card _____ Number _____ Exp. _____

The National Interest; Dept. NI; PO Box 3000; Denville, NJ 07834
(to order by phone, call 202 467-4884)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Dog That Didn't Bark

Who Put the Muzzle on Congressional Reform?

David Mason

Disgusted by twin scandals at the House Bank and Post Office, voters in 1992 sent a clear message to Washington: The American people wanted sweeping congressional reform.

The signs of voter discontent were unmistakable. Dozens of incumbents fell to surprise defeats in their own primaries or the November elections. Term limits were on the ballot in 14 states in 1992, and were approved in each, generally by huge margins. Public opinion polls showed enormous support for other changes as well: For Congress to obey the same civil rights and workplace safety laws it imposed on other Americans; to control runaway federal spending; and particularly for Congress to cut its own budget, staff, and perks.

Politicians said they understood. Even before the 1992 elections, the House voted overwhelmingly to close its much-abused bank and to turn over its post office and other functions to a non-partisan administrator. Together the House and Senate created a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress to reform and streamline Congress's committees, budget process, and working procedures.

Congressional candidates were even more adamant about reform. For more than half of the 110 freshmen elected to the House in November 1992, reform was the leading campaign issue.

Business as Usual

But two years later, little about the Congress has changed. Term limits never even came up for a vote. A balanced budget amendment was defeated, and lesser budget changes sidetracked. Efforts to cut staff, budget, and committees made negligible progress. A measure to apply several employment laws to Congress was approved by the House, but left so many loopholes as to be no threat to business as usual. The non-partisan administrator hired to clean-up House operations quit, complaining that top Congressmen made his job impossible to do, and the selection of a replacement has been delayed by wrangling over changes in the position's charter.

Possibly as a result of Congress's failure to reform its operations, Congress's substantive performance has been a disappointment as well, leading to the probability of another anti-incumbent election with another large freshman class.

But as voters are once again throwing the rascals out, they might contemplate what went wrong last time. Why didn't Congress, under obvious electoral pressure and with a huge infusion of new blood, do a better job at achieving the clear desires of American voters?

No Commitments

The answer is that the leadership in Congress—Republican as well as Democratic—many of the senior members, and a disappointing number of the 1992 freshmen were not truly committed to reform. Lacking an overwhelming push by the rank-and-file and the public, the barons of the imperial Congress were able to stop reform in its tracks. Their most effective roadblocks were the hijacking of the Joint Reform Committee, the transformation of reform from a bipartisan to a partisan issue, and leadership control of the floor agenda.

Initially there were high hopes for the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress. House and Senate leaders chose as the panel's chairmen and co-chairmen Senators David Boren and Pete Domenici and Representatives Lee Hamilton and William Gradison, moderates respected by both parties who were known to have genuine concerns about the functioning of Congress. The leaders of the committee announced an aggressive schedule aimed at House and Senate action on a reform package in the fall of 1993.

Unfortunately, in making other appointments to the 24-member Joint Committee, the congressional leadership of George Mitchell, Robert Dole, Thomas Foley, and Robert Michel acted like a bankrupt corporation appointing a committee of its own executives to determine what went wrong instead of hiring independent auditors. House Speaker Thomas Foley, for instance, insisted that only sitting members serve on the reform panel, even though retired members have been among the most intelligent critics of the Congress. One Republican appointee, Representative Bill Emerson, had been a House page in high school, and had worked on Capitol Hill for nearly two decades, first as a House staffer and then as a

David Mason *is the director of the U.S. Congress Assessment Project at The Heritage Foundation.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington lobbyist, before securing election to the House of Representatives in 1980. Not one of the Senate members had served less than a decade in Congress.

Altered Perspective

Of the 110 freshman Representatives—over a quarter of the House—only one, Representative Jennifer Dunn, was appointed to the Joint Committee, and her appointment was possible only after Gradison's resignation from Congress (he was replaced as House co-chairman by David Dreier). Two sophomore representatives also served, but the remaining nine House members had between 10 and 28 years of seniority. While some Joint Committee members were genuinely interested in reform, their long service unavoidably altered their perspective. By Dreier's count, three of Speaker Foley's six Democratic appointments, Representatives Al Swift, David Obey, and Sam Gejdenson, were explicitly opposed to significant reforms.

VOTERS IN 1992 SENT A MESSAGE TO WASHINGTON: THEY WANTED REFORM. TWO YEARS LATER, LITTLE HAS CHANGED.

These three, among others, essentially boycotted the Joint Committee's extensive hearings during the spring of 1993, but showed up at a July retreat and effectively sabotaged any emerging consensus. Gejdenson suggested they begin committee reform efforts by abolishing the Joint Committee itself, and belittled GOP calls for minority rights in the House by accusing Republicans of being opposed to minority rights in the broader political process. Obey proclaimed opposition to changes in House procedures unless the Senate abolished the filibuster, something not one of the Senate members endorsed, even though House leaders had earlier insisted that changes in House or Senate rules be considered only by committee members from the body affected. The only concrete result of the retreat was to postpone a planned late-July mark-up—a meeting at which the committee would actually draft and amend a reform package—eventually scuttling any hope of action on reform proposals during 1993.

Continuing demands for delay in the mark-up by Foley and the House Democratic Caucus finally moved frustrated Joint Committee Senators to hold a session to draft a Senate-only reform package in early November. The most notable proposal to come out of the Senate meeting was for a two-year budget process, a long-time objective of Domenici's. Bolder budget reforms, such as a line-item veto or balanced budget amendment, were not even considered. The Senators also recommended changes in Senate floor procedures, including significant limitations on the filibuster, which would have had the unfortunate effect of handing more power to the Senate Majority Leader. They endorsed the concept of applying employment-related laws to the Senate, but left details to a another leadership-appointed group.

Rather than reducing the number of Senate committees directly, the Joint Committee recommended limits on the number of committees on which each Senator could serve, proposing that committees which lost over half their members as a result be abolished. Reductions in Senate staff, which had been a top complaint of Boren in justifying the Joint Committee, were not addressed substantively.

These recommendations then had to be channelled through the existing Senate committee process, with House changes proceeding through that body's committees, another condition insisted upon by Foley. In June 1994, after sitting on the reform package for six months, the Senate Rules Committee turned down the proposed limits on committee slots, gutted the two-year budget process, proposed to delay application of employment laws to the Senate, and created new powers for the Senate Appropriations Committee. The remaining shell of "reform" amounted to proposals to give more authority to the Senate's top chiefs: Majority Leader George Mitchell and Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert C. Byrd. Presenting these residual changes as reforms was ironic, since Byrd has been the chief force in blocking changes in the obviously deficient Congressional budget process. The approach was also lazy, since the only solution proffered to the Senate's procedural problems was a grant of near-dictatorial scheduling powers to the Majority Leader. By early September, however, there was no sign that any reform recommendations would reach the Senate floor.

Divide and Conquer

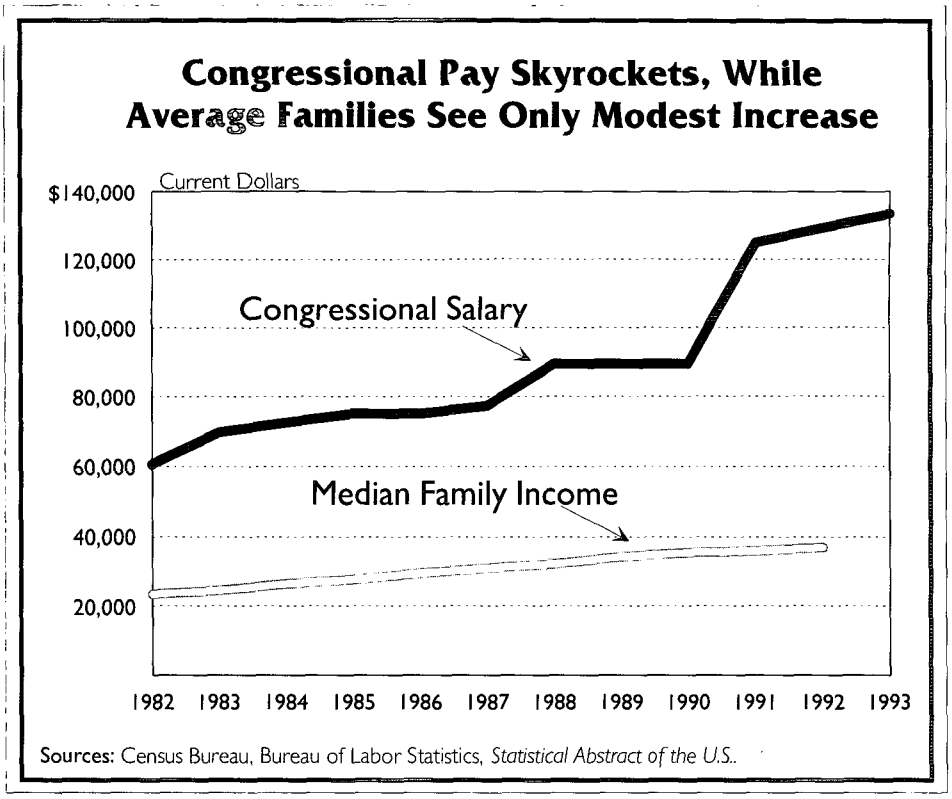
House Members of the Joint Committee produced their own reform plan in the final days of the 1993 session, at the end of which the Joint Committee was to expire. Unlike the Senate session, which proceeded in good-willed bi-partisanship, the House meeting was sharply split along partisan lines, with Democrats insisting on their partisan-designed reform package and rejecting a total of 25 Republican proposals on party-line votes. Like the Senate, the House recommended a two-year budget process and endorsed the concept of applying employment laws to Congress.

Proposals to reduce committees were even more timid than those of the Senate, requiring only a study of the matter, and the House recommended not a single change in its floor procedures, despite unanimous Republican requests and general agreement by outside experts that some changes were needed. Democrats may have expected Republicans to oppose their proposals, which would have resulted in a tie vote, killing all reforms, but Dreier and Emerson voted with the Democrats on the final motion to report their package in order to preserve possible opportunities to revisit their own reform bills.

The Republicans were to be disappointed in their hopes of fair play, however. The fate of reform proposals was even more dismal in the House than in the Senate. Many proposals had to go through two committees (House Administration and Rules) rather than one. House leaders stalled action on reform proposals until August 1994, and then, rather than acting on the entire

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

package, split out legislation to apply employment laws to Congress, which had enjoyed majority support for well over a year. Reformers in the House, including the Democrat Hamilton, had opposed that move, fearing it might be a prelude to the demise of the rest of the package. House leaders promised votes on some other reforms, but the divide-and-conquer strategy robbed Republicans and reform-minded Democrats of any opportunity to get a debate and vote on broader alternative reforms. In addition, House leaders knew they could count on Senator Byrd to oppose, and probably kill, even minor budget reforms that they allowed to pass the House. As its Senate counterpart did, the House Rules Committee killed the review of House committees, leaving the entire internal bureaucracy of the House, its rules, structure, and personnel untouched by the reform effort.



Though it was inevitable that any reform proposal would have met opposition in Congress, the Joint Committee missed numerous opportunities to strengthen its own hand. Its first mistake was a broad and formless agenda, composed of any suggestion the 24 committee members (and some staff) could think of. This approach left the committee without definition or direction.

The Public Is the Problem

The committee also got on the wrong track by seeing public hostility toward Congress as a problem to be overcome rather than an impetus for change. Members seemed to believe they were misunderstood by the public. One committee member suggested that if constituents could each spend a week with their Congressman, seeing how demanding the job was, they wouldn't be so unhappy with Congress. "I am not sure," admitted Domenici, "[that] what the American people seem to be mad at us about has anything to do with what we are trying to fix." By treating the public as a problem, the Joint Committee lost its most powerful potential ally in the reform effort—public opinion. Had the committee taken public complaints seriously, and attempted to design a package responsive to the public critique, it might well have rallied voters to support their recommendations, particularly if they could be grouped under a compelling theme. But the committee's contemplation of the public was limited to defensive public relations strategizing, rather than an honest assessment and effort to respond.

One thing the supposed reformers had a hard time even considering was term limits. Despite the committee's broad initial agenda, and the obvious public support, term limits were not even on the committee's list as an informational topic. U.S. Term Limits, the leading grass-roots organization dedicated to the issue, had to mount a major effort simply to get the committee to schedule a single day (out of 36 days of hearings) to hear testimony on term limits. Even if, as they did, nearly all of the committee members opposed term limits, ignoring the concept in discussing congressional reform is like an urban planner ignoring massive population growth in the suburbs: Like it or not, the dominant outside circumstance sets the framework for what's happening inside.

Bipartisan Delay

Meanwhile, House leaders used the existence of the Joint Committee as an excuse to put off serious discussion of reforms for all of 1993. In February, for example, House Majority Leader Dick Gephardt argued against even considering a measure to apply numerous laws to Congress on the basis that the Joint Committee was looking into the matter. The delaying strategy was bipartisan. "I remember," said House Minority Leader Michel at year's end, "there were all kinds of calls for reform this, reform that. Maybe some of them, either their ardor has somewhat cooled or [they recognized] it wasn't all to their advantage."

But the leaders could not avoid every issue. There was general agreement, for instance, that Congress had too many committees. The House's select committees—including the select committees on Aging; Children, Youth, and Families; Hunger; and Narcotics Abuse and Control—were supposedly temporary bodies with no legislative powers; they had come under special criticism for serving little purpose except as publicity forums for committee members and affiliated special interests. Because they were temporary, these select committees had to be reauthorized at the beginning of every Congress. Rather

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than simply opposing the rechartering in early 1993, as most Republicans had done in previous years, Michel suggested that the panels be extended for one year only (rather than for the entire two years of the Congress), pending action by the Joint Committee. Hard on the heels of Bill Clinton's electoral sweep, Democrats were in no mood for compromise, however, and both rejected Michel's suggestion and denied a vote on it. Much to the surprise of nearly everyone, the House rejected the leadership's first motion to continue a select committee, with conservative and freshman Democrats joining Republicans in opposition. Michel, more a gentleman than a fighter, immediately offered to resuscitate his compromise (and the committees), but was soon convinced by fellow Republicans to pocket the victory.

THE LEADERSHIP'S CONTROL OF THE FLOOR AGENDA WAS KEY TO STIFLING HOUSE REFORM.

CONTROLLING THE AGENDA

The surprise loss illustrates just how critical Democratic leaders' control of the floor agenda was to blocking reform in the House. Nearly every time reform proposals came up during 1993 and 1994 they passed by overwhelming margins. Thus controlling the agenda was key to managing—or stifling—reform. Senate rules allow individual senators to raise any legislative proposal virtually whenever they wish. Only peer pressure, custom, and informal ("unanimous consent") agreements limit the Senate agenda. House procedures are far more structured, however, requiring committee approval of bills and then a special rule from the House Rules Committee before coming to the House floor. Bypassing House committees is extremely difficult, so the first line of resistance to reform measures is simply to bury them in a hostile committee. If pressure for a particular reform builds, the leadership will often move its own half-measure while continuing to block consideration of stronger steps. In recent years, the Rules Committee has increasingly and severely restricted Representatives' ability to amend bills. In the 95th Congress (1977-1978), only 15 percent of the special rules restricted amendments which would be otherwise permissible under permanent House rules. During the last two years, 79 percent of special rules disallowed amendments.

The importance of closed rules to sidetracking reform was illustrated with another bill leaders had to address, the annual appropriations for the Congress. The opportunity to cut spending and review Congressional operations promised to provide a major opportunity for reformers in June 1993. Appropriations measures enjoy special status in House rules, and don't need Rules Committee approval to reach the floor. This year, however, the leadership sent the Legislative Branch Appropriations bill to the Rules Committee anyway, which reported a special rule allowing only six of 53 proposed amendments. The six amendments allowed were among the least significant of those offered, affecting less than one-third of one percent of the funds in the bill. More serious proposals—for a 5 percent across-the-board spending cut, to eliminate franked (free) mail, and calling for an audit of House operations—were not even allowed to be debated. This was too much even for Michel, who declared "I have never seen a rule as outrageous, anti-democratic and anti-reform." Overwhelming votes in favor of the tepid amendments allowed showed once again how hungry the House was for any sort of reform action, and how important control of the floor agenda was to stopping real reform.

KING OF THE HILL

The House Democratic leadership has also been using special rules in more and more imaginative ways. The "king-of-the-hill" procedure, for instance, allows House members to vote on two or more competing propositions, with only the last option to receive a majority actually counting. Individual representatives can vote "yes" on everything—even on logically exclusive approaches—while the leadership can virtually guarantee its preferred outcome by putting its own alternative last in the voting order. This was the ploy that was used to kill a line-item veto proposal in favor of a much weaker "enhanced rescission" bill (allowing the president to make spending cut recommendations, but leaving their disposition up to Congress) in April 1993.

Subsequent action on that same enhanced rescission bill shows how the leadership can use agenda control not only to stop reforms it opposes, but to attempt to gain political credit for measures that are not even serious reforms. Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Byrd is a fierce opponent of any effort to shift spending authority from Congress to the president. He opposes enhanced rescission as vigorously as the line-item veto, and was able to bury the House passed bill in the Senate.

By the summer of 1994 pressure for budget reforms was again building in the House, focused on the "A to Z" proposal for a dedicated budget-cutting House session. In opposing A to Z, the leadership offered a series of weaker alternatives, including, bizarrely, precisely the same enhanced rescission bill that the House had passed a year earlier. Even though the House had already passed the measure, it was obviously dead in the Senate, and a second House vote would change nothing, the leadership scheduled a vote on the enhanced rescission bill in July of 1994 in an effort to head off more serious reform efforts.

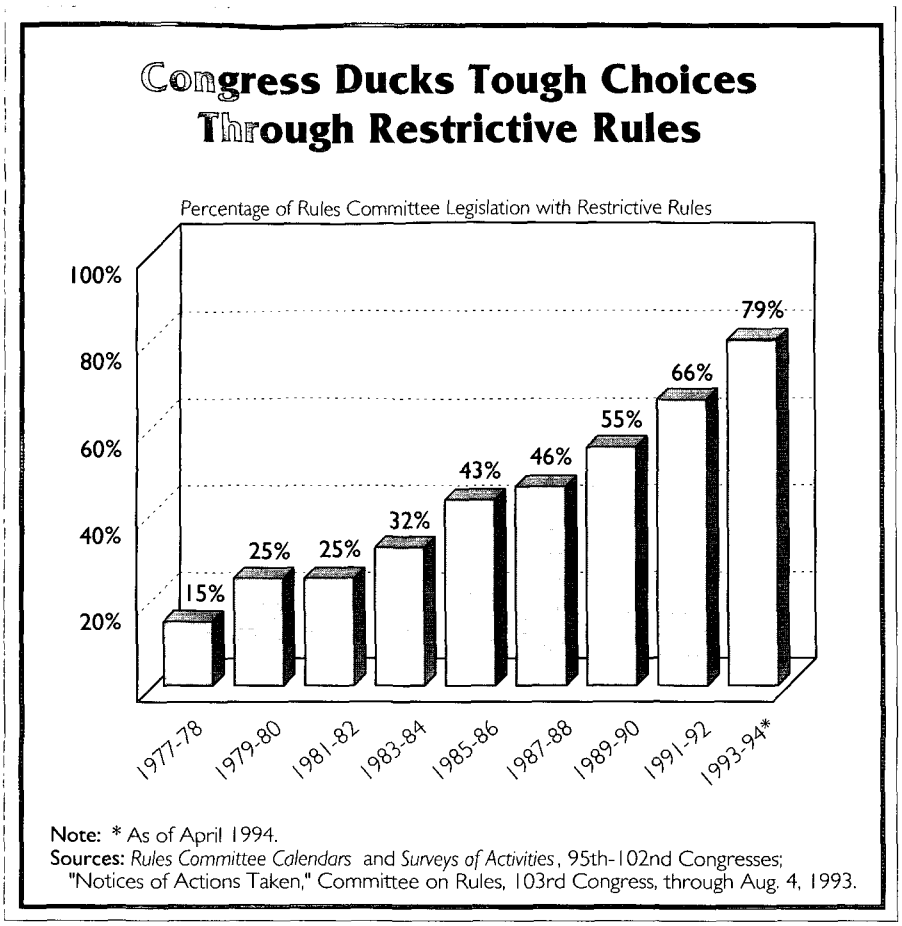
CAJOLED AND THREATENED

The House Democratic leadership goes to great lengths to maintain its control of the floor agenda. Majority party members who oppose Rules Committee resolutions are cajoled and threatened to get back in line. In the same month that the House was meaninglessly repeating its enhanced rescission vote, Joint Committee Vice Chairman Dreier was mounting a campaign to bring the committee's reform package to the House floor along with GOP alternatives. Dreier's method was to oppose a motion known as the "previous question" on rules, bring-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing up the enhanced rescission bill and other procedural reforms. Defeating this motion would give Dreier the right to offer a special rule of his own, in this case one to debate and amend the Joint Committee package.

Lee Hamilton, the Democratic co-chairman of the Joint Committee, initially supported Dreier's efforts, but soon felt the wrath of his party's leadership. House Rules Committee Chairman Joe Moakley observed publicly that Hamilton had broken with the Democratic Party line on procedural motions 18 times, adding that was a large number for a committee chairman (Hamilton also heads the House Foreign Affairs Committee). Less than a week later, Hamilton was summoned to an evening session with Moakley and House Speaker Foley. Emerging from the meeting, Hamilton announced he was dropping his support for Dreier's efforts to secure action on the Joint Committee's reform package as a whole. "I was forced to face reality," explained Hamilton. Instead, he acceded to the leadership's desire to bring up a bill to require Congress to comply with certain employment-related laws as a separate item in August of 1994, with a vague promise of action on other reforms at a later date. Hamilton had to know, however, that later would probably never come. Just weeks before his meeting with Foley and Moakley, he had opposed division of the reform package, arguing that "separating off the [employment law] proposal will kill the rest of the package."



Splitting the Freshmen

The threat to Hamilton, quite obviously, was the loss of his committee chairmanship. The third element in Foley's success at stopping significant Congressional reform was the use of similar threats and blandishments to create partisan divisions on reform, especially within the huge freshman class. It was apparent in November of 1992 that Foley saw the freshmen, even those of his own party, as a potential problem. If large numbers of the 55 new Democrats united with senior reformers such as Hamilton, they might well join Republicans in a coalition that could control the reform agenda. Soon after the elections, Foley and other Democratic leaders engaged in an unprecedented effort, flying around the country to meet with the newly-elected Democrats in small groups. Foley used a combination of promises of aid—to be open to the new legislators' needs and desires—and threats, especially against joining with Republican freshmen in an overall reform effort. For the first time in memory, for instance, freshman Democrats were seated, one each, on Congress's two most powerful and exclusive committees: Ways and Means and Appropriations. But Foley was successful in keeping his freshmen away from a mid-November 1992 conference organized by and for newly-elected lawmakers, which had been intended to forge a united freshman reform agenda.

Though they were already partially reined-in, several of the freshman Democrats objected to a controversial series of rules changes they were required to vote on the day Congress first convened in January of 1993. The alterations in House rules had been decided by the Democratic caucus the previous year without the freshmen's involvement. Freshmen asked Foley to postpone the rules vote, but instead he suggested that the freshmen create a reform task force to recommend additional rules changes, promising that he would allow a vote on the freshmen's recommendations within 90 days. The freshmen agreed to Foley's offer, and only two of 55 Democratic newcomers opposed the rules package in January.

The freshman reform task force was set up as an arm of the House Democratic Caucus. In so doing, Foley again split his freshmen from their Republican peers (who set up their own reform task force), steering the freshmen toward party affiliation rather than bipartisan cooperation. The freshmen themselves had trouble meeting their 90-day deadline: Just a few months in Congress were enough to divide loyalties between a desire for reform and the urge to protect committee assignments, ethnic and gender causes and other interests. As the freshmen finished their package, Foley met with the group and simply vetoed several of their more populist changes, such as the elimination of choice reserved parking slots at Washington-area airports and imposing term limits on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

committee chairmen. Rather than bringing the remainder of the recommendations to a House vote, as he had promised, however, Foley referred the freshman package to another committee of the Democratic Caucus. That panel, the Committee on Organization, Study and Review, mulled the recommendations for several more months, eventually reporting only five of the 27 initial recommendations to the full caucus for further review. Only a month from the end of the 103rd Congress, not one of the freshmen's proposals had come up for a vote in the House.

Raw Partisanship

The caucus arrangement also had the benefit of keeping the freshmen away from the Joint Committee, which was also supposed to be working on a reform package. Had Foley had the freshmen report to the Joint Committee, they would have identified with its eventual report and supported its adoption. As it was, with no freshman Democrat on the Joint Committee and their own focus on the party caucus, the freshmen were diverted from the most serious reform effort.

Foley had help in using partisanship to defeat reform measures from the leading Democratic advocate of "change," Bill Clinton. To the extent Democratic interest in reform was motivated by gridlock, that concern diminished, especially early in the Clinton Administration. Democrats were susceptible to appeals to focus on the president's agenda, especially to avoid proposals which might complicate its adoption. Republican complaints about Congressional micromanagement of the executive branch similarly diminished with the loss of GOP control of the White House. Moreover, the re-emergence, after the ideological muddiness of the Bush years, of sharp partisan differences over issues such as taxes, spending, and health care made it easier for Foley and the Democratic leadership to partisanize Congressional reform as well.

Some freshmen initially were shocked by the raw partisanship of Congress. "I was astounded," said Representative Nathan Deal, "by the hostility between the parties when I got here, and I hope it's a trait the freshman class doesn't inherit." But freshman Democrats soon became a force for partisan discipline, largely in reaction to being muscled themselves. Following the one-vote victory on the president's tax and spending plan, delivered in the House by the coerced vote switch of freshman Democrat Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, several of the freshmen complained about the number of senior Democrats, including committee and subcommittee chairmen, who had voted against the president's plan. Freshman Leslie Byrne proposed a mechanism to allow the Democratic Caucus to discipline wayward committee leaders by reconsidering their chairmanships.

The absence of single-minded commitment to reform by more than a handful of House Republicans made GOP efforts less successful than they might have been. In some instances, as with pay and office accounts, the interests of GOP incumbents are identical with those of Democrats. House Republicans, for instance, have focused their efforts to reduce congressional staff on committee personnel, a tiny proportion of the overall total, because those staffs are controlled disproportionately by the majority party. Personal staffs, which are equal in size regardless of party affiliation, have largely escaped internal congressional criticism. In another instance, one reform-minded Republican put together a detailed package of budget cuts which would have reduced overall Congressional expenses by 25 percent. He left one of the biggest targets of reformers, the franking (free postage) account, relatively unscathed, however, explaining privately that he needed franking funds to combat hostile news media in his district. With some notable exceptions—like Dunn and Representatives Mike Crapo and Pete Hoekstra, who introduced their own reform proposals—even the GOP freshmen's reform efforts have been less forceful than they might have been. Whether the class was too large for consensus, subject to diverse agendas, or curbed by excessive partisanship, the 48 freshman Republicans elected in 1992 were less effective in raising reform issues than the "Gang of Seven" from the 1990 freshman class which repeatedly pushed reform issues to the top of the House agenda, making themselves minor cult heroes in the process. Dreier and Republican freshmen did mount a full scale effort to move the Joint Committee's reform package in the summer of 1994, but by then time was short and the Congressional agenda crowded with health care, crime, and numerous other issues.

All of these obstacles—leadership opposition, partisanship and complex procedures—might still have been overcome had the public, particularly organized citizen groups, kept enough pressure on Congress. Yet another weakness of the reform movement is that no outside group has an interest in congressional reform as intense as those inside the institution. Ross Perot's organization, United We Stand America, comes closest to a national force for reform, but is hobbled in working with Congress by the lack of a Washington presence and a diverse and changeable agenda.

U.S. Term Limits, the major national organization for that movement, paid relatively little attention to Congress in comparison with its efforts to promote state and local term limit referenda. The organization alienated potential allies in Congress with public criticism of politicians who supported term limits but disagreed with U.S. Term Limits's insistence on a six-year cap on House service. It and other groups in the movement also dissipated significant energy by feuding among themselves.

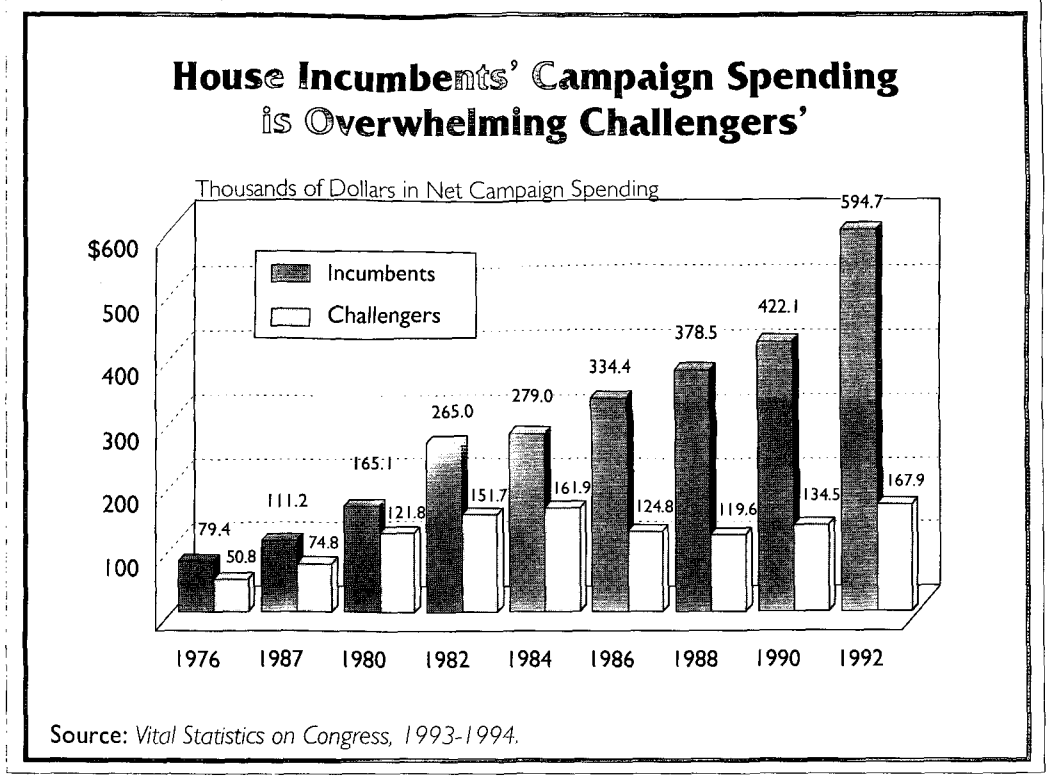
New Blood Not Enough

What, then, are the most important lessons of the failure of reform over the past two years? One is that new blood alone will not be enough to change Congress significantly. If the turnover of one quarter of House seats had little impact on reform in the 103rd Congress, it is unlikely that a similar turnover will be sufficient to do the trick in the 104th. As long as the seniority system is in place, new members, or at least enough of them to make a difference, will be coopted, even in the course of a single year. Congress's incentive system toward seniority and perpetual reelection must change before Congress itself will adopt the other sweeping reforms necessary. Term limits are proven even more necessary, and, pending Supreme Court action on state-imposed limits, support

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for a term-limits constitutional amendment is a true test of a candidate's commitment to real congressional reform.

The second lesson of 1993-94 is the continuing importance of political parties in Congress. Despite the declining attachment of voters to political parties, partisanship in Congress is increasing. While the complete remedy for this divergence between the attitudes of voters and their representatives may be systemic changes such as term limits, electoral reforms, or new political parties, in the interim, candidates' party affiliation makes a significant difference in their likely behavior on reform. Even the most committed Democratic reformers will be curbed, at least to some degree, by their party caucus. Republicans are increasingly emphasizing the point that 40 years of one-party control in the House of Representatives has had significant, and generally negative, consequences for the form of our government and the content of laws. With the retirement this year of old-line accommodationist Robert Michel as House Republican Leader, the House GOP will become a more consistent and insistent voice for reform in Congress. Republican candidates are scheduled to unite this fall, for instance, behind a contract with the American people to advance a number of significant reform measures—including term limits, committee and staff cuts, and major budget reforms—should they gain a majority in Congress next year.



Source: *Vital Statistics on Congress, 1993-1994.*

Finally, reformers inside Congress should work harder to describe to the public the problems they see in Congress and their proposed remedies. Representative Jim Inhofe's surprising victory in overturning the secrecy of "discharge petitions" in the House proves that an intelligent and sustained effort can unite the public in support of a change in a relatively obscure House procedure. Discharge petitions allow a majority in the House to bypass any committee and bring a measure directly to the House floor. But a cloak of secrecy formerly allowed politicians to confuse voters by claiming to support a bill while refusing to take the one step—signing a petition—essential to its passage. Inhofe's success was a combination of hard work—he was a guest on scores of radio talk shows over several months—and marketing savvy, explaining in simple terms that discharge secrecy allowed plain dishonesty on the part of representatives. While House leaders fought Inhofe all the way, his reform, moved to the floor itself through a discharge petition, was approved 384-40.

The A to Z spending cuts proposal of Representatives Rob Andrews and Bill Zeliff would bypass complex budget procedures by holding a week-long House session to act on an unlimited range of budget cuts. A discharge petition on this measure is just 14 names short of forcing action. The election of only a few more supporters this fall can tip the balance in favor of A to Z. Representative Mike Crapo has assembled a "Truth in Voting" package covering a number of House procedures that, like secret discharge petitions, allow Representatives to mislead voters. Tops on his list are closed rules, which stop promising proposals from even being voted on, the king of the hill procedure, and conference committees which invent legislative provisions never reviewed or voted on in either house of Congress. Truth in Voting is likely to be one of the planks in the House GOP reform plan.

Internal and External Attack

Congress is feeling the heat for reform. It is also clear that the main barrier to reforming Congress is the current congressional system, along with its defenders in the leadership. By attacking the system from the outside with term limits, and from the inside with vigorously promoted and understandable reform proposals, reformers inside and outside Congress stand a chance of succeeding. But there is also a chance that inertia and the leadership's strong powers can divide and distract reformers so as to stymie or postpone reform yet again.

It is the commitment of the public, and of self-proclaimed reformers on Capitol Hill, that will make the difference.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rivers of Babylon

A Harvard Man Brings the Gospel to the Crack House

Herbert H. Toler Jr.

Eugene F. Rivers III is a lot of things, but timid isn't one of them. "Thirty years after passage of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts, more black people are incarcerated in domestic death camps than in the time of Jim Crow," he says. "We have 8,000 black elected officials, yet we have more black unemployment, more black criminality, than when there were 300. What, in these circumstances, does freedom mean? Maybe we have to go back to the Church Fathers and St. Augustine and ask what it means for man to be free."

At 44, Reverend Rivers has a resume that includes ordained Pentecostal minister, urban missionary, former gang member, social agitator, and philosophical gadfly. Rivers has attracted about 30 people—mostly middle-class professionals—to form the Azusa Christian Community, an outreach and revitalization effort in the Four Corners Area of Dorchester, one of Boston's poorest and most dangerous neighborhoods. He has become the Socrates of black Boston, challenging the black political and church leadership for being too materialistic, too power-hungry, and, above all, too secular. In the meantime, he is persuading other black pastors to join him in a new crusade for freedom—not from the bigots and the Ku Klux Klan, but from the materialism and spiritual despair that he says are destroying the African-American soul.

Rivers is a man rich in apparent contradictions: A one-time gang member, he went on to attend Harvard; drawn to the emotionalism and spiritual power of the Pentecostal faith, he places a premium on the life of the mind; son of a Nation of Islam disciple, he repudiates the central tenets and tactics of the movement; a conservative in his theology, he moves most comfortably among the political Left.

Rivers is, indeed, a man of the Christian left. He rails against large concentrations of private wealth and an "international marketplace that is leaving millions of African Americans behind, unable to compete in the global capitalist economy." He decries Ronald Reagan's "domestic war against the poor," and attacks capitalism for its glorification of consumption and stimulation of "artificial appetites."

Other than Jesus Christ and St. Augustine, Rivers says his greatest philosophical influences are the left-wing theoreticians Herbert Marcuse and Noam Chomsky. He named his children after Malcolm X and Sojourner Truth. He is a fellow at the Center for Values and Public Life at the leftist Harvard Divinity School. He is personally close to many of the icons of the African-American Left—among them Cornel West, Alvin Poussaint, and Marion Wright Edelman of the Children's Defense Fund.

This same man of the Left, however, uses the class analysis of the left to criticize and challenge the leadership of black America. He ridicules the black middle class for its "bourgeois obsessions": a suburban lifestyle, Martha's Vineyard vacations, private schools, swanky parties. He faults black elites for using the language of the civil rights movement while "abandoning their leadership responsibilities for helping the black poor." Even churches are part of the problem, he recently told the *Boston Globe*. "If the black church leadership is just as hedonistic as any young black male running the streets, then there's no reason for young people to heed their authority."

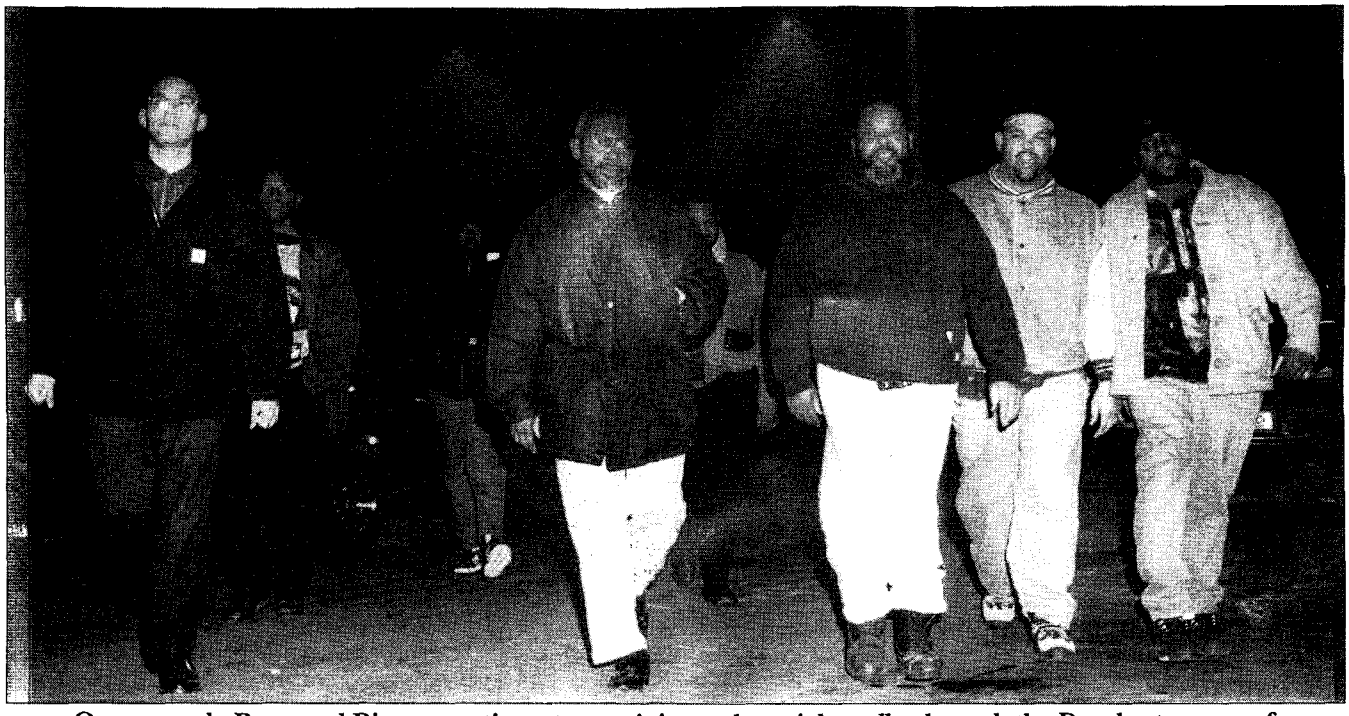
He chides his left-wing friends for their fixation with income redistribution schemes, such as a graduated income tax. "I say, let's have graduated tithing. Let's see you get directly involved in helping the poor. Or at least use some of that second vacation money to help programs that are working with kids in the community."

Planting Community Roots

Anyone who knows Rivers knows he's not just sermonizing. Typical of members of his Azusa Christian Community is that they serve—and often live—in the crime-plagued North Dorchester section of Boston. Their numbers include graduates or students from Harvard, Yale, and MIT. Michelle Shaw, a Harvard Law School graduate, left a comfortable law practice"and over half her income"to work at a law firm in the community; Alan Shaw, a graduate student at MIT, founded a computer software company that educates and employs neighborhood youths in computer technologies; and Anthony Parker, a Harvard grad, teaches history and social studies at Newton South High School in Newton. "God called me

Herbert H. Toler Jr. *is a Bradley Fellow at The Heritage Foundation, and is writing a book on the African-American church.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



T.O. Gross

Once a week, Reverend Rivers practices street ministry—late night walks through the Dorchester area of Boston, talking about God with gang members and drug dealers.

to this place," Rivers says. "This is my moral obligation. This is my duty. For me, life has become a *jihad*."

At the heart of his holy war is the preservation and revitalization of an entire community. Members of Azusa—named after Azusa Street in Los Angeles, center of Pentecostal revivalism in the early 1900s—are deeply involved in the ebb and flow of neighborhood life. Freedom House, a neighborhood meeting hall, serves not only as the congregation's sanctuary but as a community center. The ministry holds seminars on how to start up a small business, and takes field trips to local firms. Its members lure teens off the street and into workshops that teach electronics repair. Once a week, Rivers practices street ministry—late-night walks through Dorchester talking about God with gang members and drug dealers.

The Reverend's wife, Jacqueline Rivers, along with another Azusa member have spearheaded an algebra camp, held at Northeastern University, that is impressing on both kids and parents the educational and economic benefits of math literacy. Natalie Harvey, for example, has joined a parents advisory group, while her daughter, Tiffany, attends camp. Other parents serve on fundraising and recruiting committees. They're sold on this camp: David Lumpkins, a junior in high school, has been going to algebra camp since 6th grade. "He eats, dreams, and talks math," his mother says.

Indeed, Rivers faults America's black leadership for looking too much to government for solutions to the urban crisis. Parents shouldn't wait for schools to teach their children about sex; neither should communities wait for police to protect them from drug dealers. Families, churches, and neighborhoods must be more involved in guarding and guiding the lives of their most vulnerable members, whether it means providing sex education or community policing. "The solutions have to be worked out on the streets," Rivers says. The key to Azusa's algebra instruction, for example, is getting parents excited about their children learning math.

Families, indeed, are central to Rivers's vision for restoring hope to the next generation. "Yahweh says that if you attend to the needs of the children, you will be blessed—but if you do not, you will be cursed, because the sins of the parents will be visited upon the second and third generation. We are now reaping the whirlwind of not teaching our children. Now we are almost being eaten by our children because black leadership has failed to teach them."

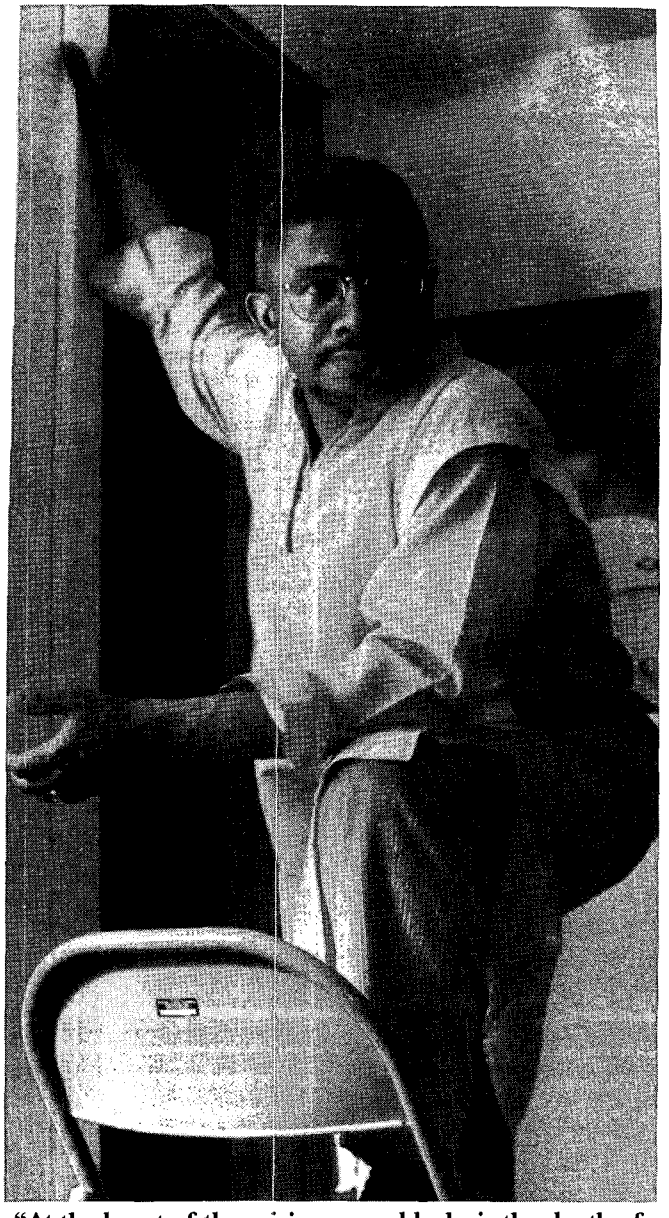
Religion Without Faith

Rivers's most important criticism of America's black leadership is that it has abandoned religion. Black political elites emphasize economic and political grievances, but ignore the moral and spiritual values that bind communities together, he says. Black religious leaders commit a similar error, not by omitting God, but by taming Him—by invoking Biblical language not to transform men's souls but to justify a social and political agenda.

"At the heart of the crisis among blacks is the death of a sacred understanding of the world," Rivers wrote in a Harvard undergraduate publication in 1985. "We have lost a meaningful sense of the transcendent or the Holy, and the consequences have been, in our judgment, utterly catastrophic. This is the essence of the growing crisis of moral and cultural authority that is engulfing our entire community."

Because of their secularism, Rivers argues, black leadership cannot address the real crises of their communities. Leaders still employ the language of the 1960s civil rights movement—with its emphasis on rights—to the virtual exclusion of moral responsibilities. They continue

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



T.O. Gross

"At the heart of the crisis among blacks is the death of a sacred understanding of the world".
—Reverend Eugene F. Rivers III

to use the solutions to yesterday's problems to address contemporary moral issues, including illegitimacy, violence, and drug abuse.

"The secular black leadership no longer has the capacity to speak to the psychopathology of dependency and criminality," he says. In an interview with the *Boston Globe*, Rivers decried the modern denial of spiritual truths among government and other institutions. "Secular, therapeutic institutions such as government foundations, public schools, the whole panoply of non-faith-centered self-help outfits are not going to speak to the depth of psychic and moral decay."

Rivers insists that churches fill the vacuum. In a commemoration for Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Rivers explained that social transformation begins with personal transformation—which must be grounded in a relationship with God and in His Word. "We need a new vision of Christianity to inspire young people to take the Gospel out of the church and into the crack houses on their block," he said. "We are driving by the poor on our way to the church and ignoring the very people Jesus died for. Young black brothers have got to get into studying God's word so they can take it into the streets."

That's the language of spiritual—as well as urban—renewal. Azusa community members, all Christian Pentecostal, are quick to acknowledge the role that faith plays in their urban work. Alan Shaw, a church deacon, recalls when Rivers challenged a group of undergraduates at Harvard to move back to the black community with their skills to help create opportunities for an entire generation of inner-city youth. The bottom-line motivation, Rivers told them, was to give back to God the talents and skills given to each of them. "When you provide services and good works for your fellow man, then you are returning them to God," Shaw says. "If you do that, then people will see God through your actions."

Manifesto for Activism

Rivers is eager to see other churches adopt a faith-based approach to addressing inner-city problems. He plays an active role in the Ten Point Coalition, an ecumenical group of pastors and laypeople in the Boston area whose churches are reaching out to at-risk youth. The group grew out of Rivers's concern that even the area's African-American churches were turning a deaf ear to urban blacks. When, in May 1992, gang members stormed funeral services at Morning Star Baptist Church, stabbing a mourner, Rivers and a handful of other pastors joined ranks to become more directly involved in street ministry and outreach.

What emerged was a loose association of 30 churches, with a 10-point manifesto for community activism. The guiding credo of the coalition is to link member churches with community institutions such as schools, courts, and social-service providers. The organization includes churches as diverse as the Union Baptist Church in Cambridge, the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Jamaica Plain, and the Mt. Olive Temple of Christ in Dorchester.

In these congregations, church missionaries volunteer as advocates for juvenile offenders, working closely with probation officers and police. They develop "Christian Brotherhoods" as an alternative to gang life. They stage neighborhood crime watches. They develop black and Latino history curricula taught in churches. "They will respect you when you establish a relationship with them," says Reverend Jeffrey Brown, the coalition's executive cochairman, "because you represent a distinct spiritual and moral authority in their lives."

The key, everyone agrees, is involving as many individuals and groups as possible to influence, guide, and rescue troubled youth. "The community and especially the church has to unequivocally take responsibility for these kids," says Reverend Ray Hammond, the coalition's administrative cochairman. "No one church or institution is going to get this job done by itself. There has to be a longterm commitment to the development of partnerships that work."

The coalition seems to be persuading a broad array of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

groups to embrace the partnership concept. In July, the group launched Boston Freedom Summer, an internship program in which college students work with inner-city kids through church-based literacy campaigns. Some teams worked on voter registration; others taught at an algebra camp; and some held science and technology seminars, taking kids on field trips to show them how technology translates into everyday consumer goods. The program, headed by Rivers, drew about 50 students—recruited locally and nationally—to work in some of the worst neighborhoods in Boston.

Consistent with Rivers's vision to put the church and the community at the center of urban renewal, grants for the program came exclusively from the private sector. Contributors included Au Bon Pain, Ben and Jerry's Ice Cream, the Boston Foundation, Fleet Bank, the Interaction Associates of Cambridge, the Reebok Foundation, and other groups and individuals. Program sponsors included the Archdiocese of Boston, the Criminal Justice Institute at Harvard Law School, Harvard Divinity School's Center for the Study of Values and Public Life, and the Jewish Community Relations Council.

Up Close and Personal

Rivers understands the crises facing black families, and the forces that ward off these crises, from his own struggles growing up in the blue-collar section of West Philadelphia. His parents divorced when he was three years old, and he lived with his mother, who "was like a Mother Teresa" in her discipline and daily sacrificing for her family.

But it wasn't enough to keep him from joining the Somerville gang when he was 12. He remembers the day vividly: Junior high classmates stuck his head in a toilet and commanded him to "join or get it." He spent the next four years watching his friends die in gang warfare.

FAMILIES AND CHURCHES MUST BE MORE INVOLVED IN GUARDING AND GUIDING THE LIVES OF THEIR MOST VULNERABLE MEMBERS.

Had a church community not intervened, Rivers might well have followed his friends into utter darkness. The Deliverance Evangelistic Church was a powerful institution in working-class Northwest Philadelphia, whose pews were filled with at least 5,000 of the faithful each Sunday. A few of those faithful reached out to the young gang member. He quickly was drawn to the congregation's pastor, Reverend Benjamin Smith Senior. Smith, became a father figure to Rivers, disarming him with his spiritual strength, integrity and asceticism.

By the time Rivers turned 18, however, he'd developed an intense appetite for the intellectual writings of black nationalists and socialists. That did not sit well with church leaders, and Rivers was put out of the church. He floated from job to job and collected welfare checks in several states. He was drifting.

Not long after settling in the Boston area, Rivers developed a friendship with a Harvard professor of government, Martin Kilson, who convinced him to attend Harvard under his sponsorship. It was a fateful relationship: At Harvard, Rivers met like-minded colleagues—theological conservatives who were political activists devoted to improving the lot of the inner-city poor. They founded the William J. Seymour Society of Harvard-Radcliffe, named after the black Holiness preacher instrumental in spreading Pentecostalism in America. It became an intellectually high-powered Pentecostal group that emphasized "biblical faith and a radical commitment to Christian ethics."

"WE ARE DRIVING BY THE POOR ON OUR WAY TO CHURCH AND IGNORING THE VERY PEOPLE JESUS DIED FOR." —REV. EUGENE F. RIVERS III

Rivers later was ordained as a minister by one of New York City's most celebrated clergy-activists, Reverend Herbert Daughtry, of the House of the Lord Pentecostal Church. Daughtry was another kindred spirit for Rivers, who became even more committed to revitalizing urban communities through an empowering Biblical faith. The Seymour society continued to meet after Rivers left Harvard and eventually evolved into the Azusa Christian Community.

From his theology, his personal history, and his experience with kids on the street, Rivers is unequivocal about the link between the decay of cities and a loss of faith in God: "Faith makes all the difference in how humans respond to adversity. With faith, one can see beyond discrimination and poverty to a future that has meaning. Without faith there is no identification with the Divine." In his view, urban programs that ignore life's spiritual dimension are unlikely to make a significant and lasting impact on society's most vulnerable members.

Pentecostal Socrates

As black leaders continue to wrestle with the problems of urban America, there is much to be learned from Boston's Pentecostal of Socrates. "Rivers has always challenged me to think more deeply about the spiritual, social, political, and intellectual implications of the gospel," says Reverend Ray Hammond, a coalition member, "to keep asking, what does this gospel mean in the present day."

For Reverend Eugene F. Rivers III, neglecting or denying God and his gospel is never only a theological matter; rather, its consequences are played out daily on city streets. The death of God, for individuals and communities, "fuels violence and self-hatred. The presence of the Divine in one's life establishes the sacredness of the human experience. I have to value life if I'm made in the image of God, because that is part of God's nature." ☎

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Delta Force

Conservatism's Best Young Economists

Peter N. Warren

The creeping rot of multiculturalism, feminism, deconstructionism, and other fashionably radical intellectual trends has spread to nearly every branch of study in American universities. But economics appears to have developed an immunity to such diseases. It is one of the few disciplines in which radical Left ideology has failed to take root. Market capitalism—anathema to the bulk of the professoriate—flourishes in economics departments, where Keynesians have been unable to prevent the growth of various offshoots of classical free-market thought. This lack of political correctness is one of the reasons why U.S. economics programs are considered to be among the best in the world, while humanities and most other social sciences attract fewer foreign students.

The University of Chicago—which once commanded the heights of free-market economic thought—no longer stands alone at the summit. Ideas that originated at Chicago have disseminated throughout the nation's economics departments, and many of the country's top young economists are now emerging from schools like the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), the University of Minnesota, and George Mason University in Virginia.

What follows is a brief description of some of the best work of the rising generation of free-market oriented economists. They are tackling controversial issues, such as the legacy of Reaganomics, the privatization of the economies of the former East Bloc, and the prospects for Third World economic development.

Gap Kids

What caused the rising income inequality of the 1980s? Many economists argue the wage gap was caused by the switch from high-paying manufacturing jobs to lower-paying service sector jobs, among the working class. But **Kevin Murphy,** of the University of Chicago, provides another explanation. He and UCLA's Finis Welch show that those with college degrees have always earned more than non-degree holders, but the gap widened precipitously during the 1980s. Their article, "The Structure of Wages," originally published in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, demonstrates that, in the 1980s, possession of a college degree became more crucial than ever to financial success.

Murphy gives two reasons for this. During the 1980s, degree holders became more valuable due to a dwindling supply of graduates. Simultaneously, there was an increased demand for advanced education and skills in the workplace.

During the 1970s, college graduates earned about 40 percent more than high school graduates. By 1980, the difference had declined to about 25 percent. But by 1985, the gap had widened to 55 percent. According to Murphy, this is because colleges were flooded with Baby-Boomer students during the 1970s, and the flood subsided during the 1980s. Murphy says that, even within the same profession, degree holders pulled away from less-educated peers. For instance, during the 1980s, college-educated secretaries outearned non-degree holding secretaries by a considerable margin. Murphy claims that those with advanced degrees continue to earn more throughout their lifetime. Recent college graduates entering the job market can expect to earn hundreds of thousands of dollars more, over the course of their lifetimes, than those with only a high school diploma.

Employers are seeking well-educated employees more than ever. By the mid-1980s, nearly three times as many employees held college degrees as during the late 1960s. The danger is that those who do not earn college degrees will drop further and further behind. In a separate article, published in the *American Enterprise,* Murphy relates this study to the economic plight of black Americans: "The key point is that the failure of our nation's educational system to provide blacks with the quantity and quality of schooling required to compete in today's labor market may be a reason for the lack of economic progress for blacks in recent years."

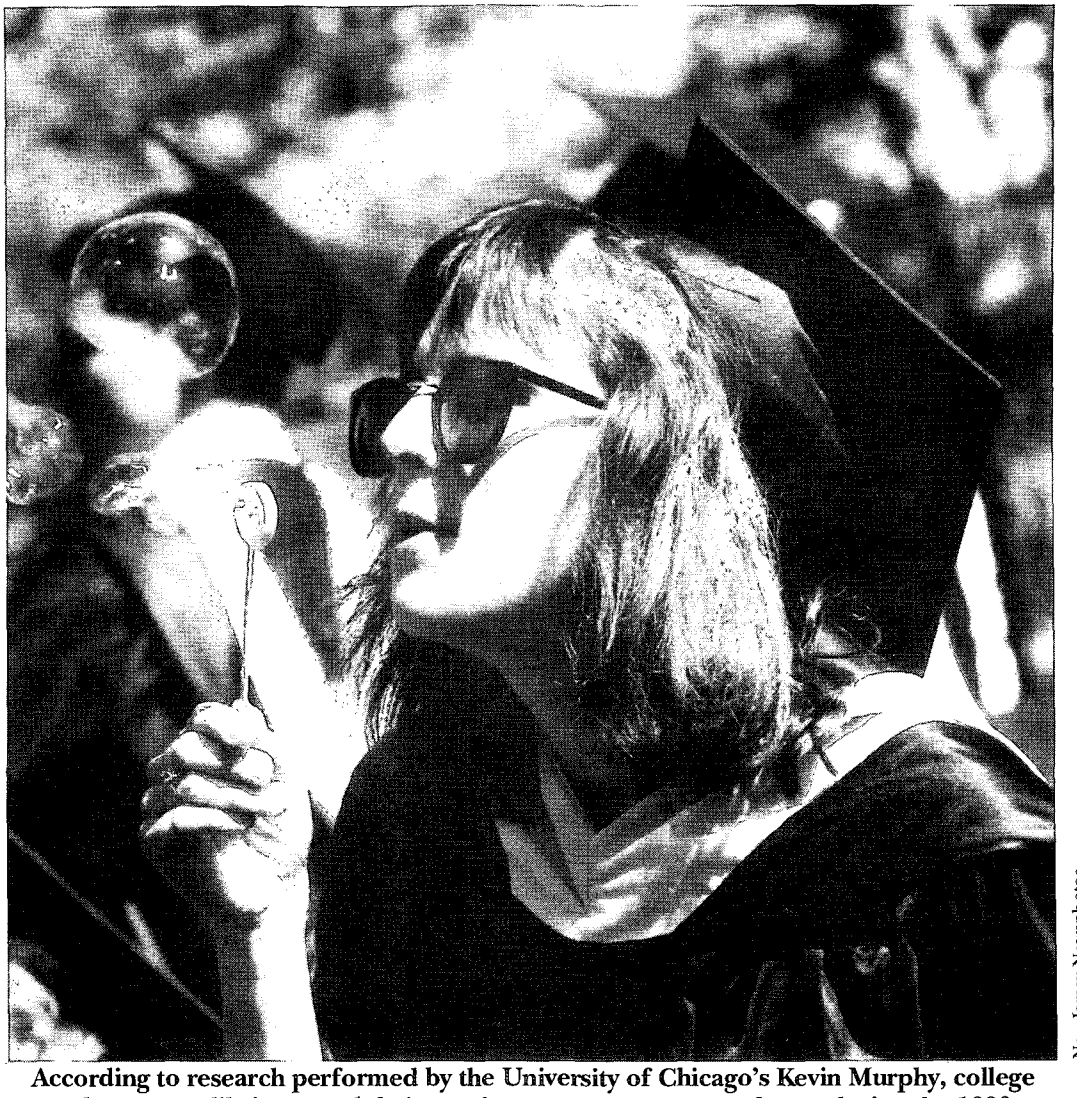
Murphy and Nobelist Gary Becker provide intellectual ammunition for school choice advocates. They argue that public schools are actually more segregated than private ones, since they draw all their students from the same neighborhood. Private schools, which attract students from different areas and are permitted to charge varying tuition fees, tend to be more integrated in actual practice. The authors advocate a voucher system, to facilitate

Peter N. Warren *is a research associate at The Heritage Foundation.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

greater integration.

Becker and Murphy have also modeled the economic behavior of a seemingly irrational group—drug addicts. They wrote an oft-cited article in the *American Economic Review* (*AER*) on the theory of "rational addiction." It shows that even addicts are sensitive to price, defying conventional wisdom that addicts will "do anything" to get their next fix. Murphy and Becker conclude that reducing the price of drugs through legalization would increase their use, particularly among young people, for whom price is often a barrier. While lower prices raise consumption, the converse is also true. A June 1994 *AER* article by Becker and Murphy disputes estimates of the massive savings that a cigarette tax will bring in, since cigarette consumption will decline—even among nicotine addicts—if high "sin" taxes are levied. They estimate that the $2.24 per-pack tax in the Senate Finance Committee's health reform bill would lower cigarette consumption by almost 73 percent, yielding considerably less tax revenue to finance insurance subsidies than is expected.



New Jersey Newsphotos

According to research performed by the University of Chicago's Kevin Murphy, college graduates steadily increased their earning power over non-graduates during the 1980s.

Murphy received his Ph.D. at Chicago and has been a member of the faculty since 1982. Now 35, he is an associate professor in the Graduate School of Business.

Takeover Makeovers

Most people view the "hostile takeover wave" of the Eighties, which took place among American business corporations, as monopolistic maneuvering by corporate giants. Chicago's **Robert Vishny** and Harvard's **Andrei Shleifer** say otherwise, showing in a *Science* article that the takeover wave was beneficial for the American economy. In contrast to earlier acquisition binges, this one broke up conglomerates that made little economic sense, and refocused American businesses on their core competency. Conglomerates had become overextended, reaching into areas unrelated to their specific expertise, areas in which they proved to be uncompetitive. "Conglomerate builders ignored Adam Smith's principle that specialization raises productivity," says Vishny. In effect, non-specialists in central offices were calling the shots for specialized operations.

In many cases, corporate raiders sold off the inefficient elements of a company, while retaining the most effective one. Vishny considers Revlon a prime example. The company's cosmetic business suffered when its management dedicated its scarce capital to expanding its health-care ventures. Ronald Perelman reversed the slide when he took over the company; he dismantled the health-care operation and refocused on beauty products. This research by Vishny and Shleifer on takeovers suggests an unfettered antitrust policy is best. "Too strict an antitrust policy is ineffective," says Vishny. "The rules on takeovers and junk bonds are distortionary, precluding the market from working effectively."

Vishny and Shleifer met at MIT while pursuing their doctoral degrees, which they earned in 1985 and 1986, respectively. Shleifer, Russian by birth, earned his BA from Harvard, then taught at Princeton and Chicago, before returning to Cambridge as a full professor. London's *Economist* recently called the 33-year old Shleifer, "Undoubtedly the best Russian neoclassical economist around." Vishny, 35, is the Eric J. Gleacher Professor of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Finance at Chicago. He is also Program Director of the Program in Corporate Finance for the influential National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Vishny and Shleifer combined forces to investigate the economic impact of corruption. In "Bribonomics," published last Fall in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics,* they show why the economy of the former Soviet Union seems to be getting worse before it gets better. With the breakdown of central authority, but without the establishment of a rule of law, there are more people to be bribed than in the past. Vishny and Shleifer suggest that the most wasteful corruption is independent and disorganized, occurring in developing countries and post-Communist Russia. Monopoly corruption—that of the former communist bloc and autocracies such as the late Ferdinand Marcos's Philippines—is somewhat more efficient, since fewer palms must be greased. Vishny makes an analogy to the Chicago Mafia, which tends to run more organized and efficient criminal operations than do independent operators. Vishny and Shleifer's model of corruption (organized vs. disorganized) explains why the "free-for-all" corruption taking place in both contemporary Russia and developing nations of Africa is often more burdensome for businesses and economic development than were predictable, hierarchical systems of bribery established under communism and dictatorship.

Vishny and Shleifer—who speaks fluent Russian—have taken an active role in curbing corruption by encouraging economic privatization efforts in Russia. They advised the Russian Privatization Ministry on how to sell off state-owned companies and write the rules governing private enterprise. Despite extensive privatization, many firms remain partially controlled by the state, and are often less interested in profit-making than in garnering government subsidies. "The state must have a lesser role. When politicians run the show, it is hard to separate the goals of the firm and political objectives," says Vishny. He believes that the legal and political obstacles to privatization are more formidable than the economic ones. A proud disciple of the Chicago School, Vishny views his research and privatization work as a means of extending the "Chicago view of the world" toward the newest frontiers of economic inquiry.

Mind over Matter

Austrian economics is a subfield of the profession which departs widely from mainstream academic thought. It emphasizes human behavior, not mathematical calculations. Members of the Austrian School, building on the insights of Karl Menger, Ludwig von Mises, and Friedrich Hayek, emphasize that governments can never fine-tune market systems because human behavior is unpredictable, and the knowledge used by individuals to make market decisions can never be efficiently collected by a central planner, since it is constantly changing. Markets themselves are also in a state of constant flux, as the individual entrepreneurial decisions of every member of society move the economy forward. Mainstream economists study markets in a state of equilibrium, which, according to Austrians, can never be attained.

Senior economists of the Austrian School agree that **Peter Boettke** is one of the brightest lights on the horizon. Boettke received his doctorate from George Mason in 1989, while studying under James Buchanan, Gordon Tullock, and Don Lavoie, then spent a year as a Hoover National Fellow. Now 34, Boettke teaches in the Austrian Economics Program at New York University, where he works with noted Austrian Israel Kirzner. His own work focuses on the former Soviet Union, concentrating on its political economy. The actual Soviet economy, in Boettke's interpretation, never operated like the stereotypical command economy envisioned by theorists. "The importance of the black market and unofficial trading is ignored," says Boettke. "It would be a mistake to study the Soviet economy without emphasizing the internal behavior. Individuals did not always conform to the system. If you look at the economy as a top-down hierarchy, then you are missing the point." According to Boettke, there were three interdependent economies operating at the same time—the centrally planned one, a black market designed to help localities meet designated targets, and a black market for consumers. Diverse entrepreneurial roles were created. For instance, *tolkachis,* or middlemen, provided local economies with the supplies necessary to meet targets designated by the central government. Boettke compares this role with that of Klinger on the popular sitcom "M*A*S*H," who was operating in a wartime command economy. Klinger made a great effort to bring unauthorized fans and other luxuries into the M*A*S*H camp because he knew he could sell them on the sly and make a profit. Thus, in Boettke's analysis, the innate entrepreneurialism of individual citizens was never actually extinguished by the state, but took place within non-market institutions, such as local Party cells. Individuals conducted business transactions, but were unable to expand their operations because they were operating within a Communist system.

Boettke has already written two books. The more recent, *Why Perestroika Failed: The Politics and Economics of Socialist Transformation,* discusses the Gorbachev reforms of 1985-1991. Boettke is critical of half-hearted efforts such as the Law on Private Economic Activity, enacted in November 1986. This law was intended to inspire previously illegal private entrepreneurship. It allowed individuals to drive private taxi cabs, but only if they complied with strict government regulations. Licensed cabbies had to moonlight, since they were required to continue working at their state jobs during the day. They also had to pay a registration fee and taxes amounting to 560 rubles in 1987 currency, equivalent to three months of their state salary. According to Boettke, this is why—even at the height of perestroika—most taxi cabs were still unlicensed, operating as part of the black market.

Boettke wants to study European history to learn how capitalism developed in places like the Dutch Republic. He feels that Austrian economists can learn from historians such as Gertrude Himmelfarb about how contemporary societies can make the transition to capitalism. He views the present state of the Austrian School as paradoxical. "We don't have anyone tenured at Harvard yet, but people on Wall Street are fascinated by it. People who work there come to NYU to get their M.A.s instead of their M.B.A.s, because they are interested in studying econom-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ics they can apply. Unfortunately, the professional rewards are for building a better econometric model, not for making historical arguments."

Rent Control

Kenya is known as a breeding ground for long-distance runners, not free-market economists. But when **Samson Kimenyi**, a graduate of the University of Nairobi, came across the writings of public choice theorists, he had a transforming intellectual experience. Students of public choice theory apply economic analysis to the behavior of politicians and government officials, unlike many conventional economists, who have assumed that government officials act in the "public interest." Public choice economists assume that politicians are self-interested individuals who rationally pursue incentives, such as the campaign funding and special interest support that will ensure reelection. Bureaucrats who are not subject to market forces also come under fire from public choice enthusiasts, who accuse them of "rent-seeking." Rent-seekers try to guarantee monopoly rents, or profits, for themselves, by erecting government-enforced barriers to employment of outsiders. These barriers include unions, complex licensing requirements, quotas and ideological litmus tests—all of which immunize existing producers from competition.

Kimenyi decided to pursue his doctorate at George Mason, where he studied under James Buchanan and Robert Tollison. As an African native with a public choice orientation, Kimenyi, now an associate professor at the University of Connecticut, has developed a unique perspective on issues of race relations, poverty, and development—his research interests. This perspective is far from politically correct.

Kimenyi has had the temerity to criticize the ethnic and gender studies programs that have sprung up like weeds on campuses across America. The seeds of such specialty programs were sown during the late 1960s, and today hundreds are firmly established within the nation's universities. These programs have come under fire by traditionalists, but Kimenyi is among the few to subject them to rigorous economic analysis. Several years ago, he received a grant from the Sarah Scaife Foundation to conduct such a study. Kimenyi published research results of his analysis of salaries paid at 20 American universities in *Academic Questions*.

He concluded that rhetoric about helping "disadvantaged" groups serves as a smokescreen to obscure the true purpose of specialty programs—to allow rent-seeking faculty to feather their own nests. Kimenyi shows that faculty teaching in these departments tend to be underqualified and overpaid in comparison with their counterparts in traditional disciplines. Teaching in "academic ghettos" allows faculty members to insulate themselves from competition, while increasing the demand for their services. Kimenyi argues that the programs exist because of a coalition between rent-seeking faculty and administrators who fear campus activism. The appeasement of campus radicals is the only viable function that these programs serve, according to Kimenyi. "The quality of these programs or what happens to students who graduate from them appears to be of little concern to the university administrators or the faculty," he writes.

Reuters/Bettmann

A black market peddler sells cigarettes in Ukraine. Economist Peter Boettke believes the importance of the black market and unofficial trading is often overlooked in studies of the Soviet economy.

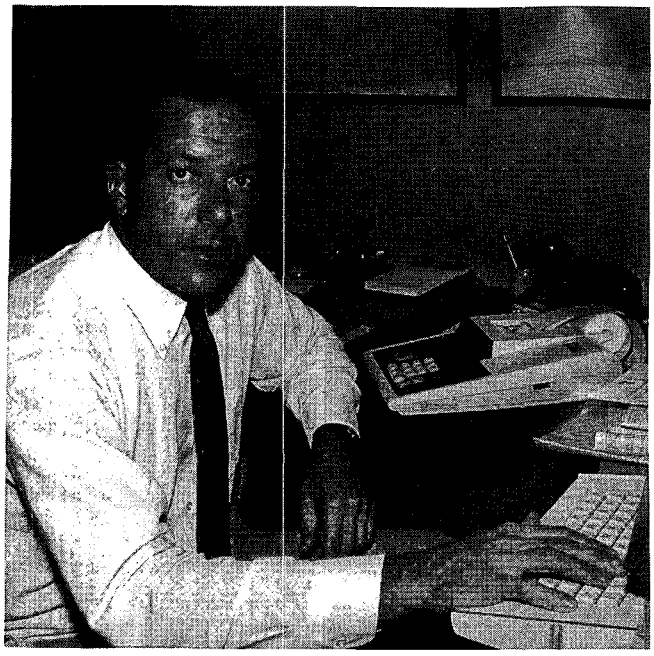
Kimenyi's gripe with specialty programs carries over into his professional life. In a *Lincoln Review* article, Kimenyi describes encounters with black studies departments, whose administrators discriminated against him due to his unorthodox views. Kimenyi, who served as minority affairs administrator for the School of Business Administration while teaching at the University of Mississippi, also expresses dismay at the way many such administrators casually and callously enforce lower academic standards for minority students.

Kimenyi's article, "Rational Choice, Culture of Poverty, and the Intergenerational Transmission of Welfare Dependency" was named the *Southern Economic Journal*'s article of the year for 1991. This research has strong implications for the current debate over welfare reform. His analysis of African and East European dictatorships discusses the effect of economic rent-seeking by groups as diverse as tribes, military units, foreign aid recipients, civil servants, urbanites, and farmers.

Protection Money

Unlike most economic specialties, developmental economics has often demonstrated a strong bias against capitalism. Many developmental economists take their cue from scholars such as Immanuel Wallerstein, who formulated the "world systems" theory. Wallerstein claims that a "center" of industrialized nations systematically

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Bettmann

Archive Photos

Whether we choose office or construction work, the government should not be able to decide the level of risk individuals accept in the workplace, argues Duke University's Kip Viscusi.

exploits the less-developed nations, or "periphery," by mining their natural resources while exercising a favorable balance of trade with them, made possible by superior productive capacities. Such economists advocate that less developed nations erect trade barriers and establish price controls in order to "protect" their citizens from foreign capitalists. Variations of these policies were actually adopted by most Latin American nations after World War II. In the mid-1980s, Latin American economies had "the highest degree of protectionism in the world," according to **Sebastian Edwards,** Chief Economist for Latin America and the Caribbean at the World Bank. History has delivered a harsh verdict on these policies.

The oil shock of 1973 and the debt crisis of 1982 called into question highly statist economic policies. But it is only recently that they have come under direct assault. In an upcoming paper, Edwards writes:

> It became increasingly apparent that the high degree of reliance on the state to run the economy had not produced the expected results. Instead of *protecting* the public from major external shocks, the overexpanded state has greatly weakened the ability of these economies to react to foreign disturbances. Politicians and policy makers began to sense—slowly at first, and then at an increasing speed—that the inward-oriented policies followed by the majority of the region were no longer sustainable. As the 1980s unfolded, economists dealing with Latin America recommended with increasing insistence a shift in the region's development strategy toward free market-based policies.

The Chilean-born Edwards is becoming influential as both a practical and theoretical economist. A graduate of the Catholic University of Chile, he received an M.A. and Ph.D. in economics from Chicago. Now 40, he is at the World Bank on leave from his post as Henry Ford II Professor of International Business Economics at the Anderson Graduate School of Management at UCLA. A corporate consultant and prolific author, Edwards has published more than 80 articles in professional journals, most concerning the monetary, fiscal, and trade policy of the nations of Latin America.

Edwards demonstrates that Latin American countries that adopted the most protectionist stances—such as Argentina, Brazil, and Peru—had the lowest rates of growth. In *The Macroeconomics of Populism in Latin America,* which Edwards recently co-authored with Rudiger Dornbusch, economic protectionism, or "populism" is described as a recurrent, cyclical phenomena in most Latin American countries. "At the end of every populist experiment," note the authors, "real wages are lower than they were at the beginning of those experiences." Only politically connected individuals benefited from these experiments in economic interventionism.

Edwards also documents the emergence of market-oriented reforms. In his forthcoming book, *From Despair to Hope: Crisis and Reform in Latin America,* and in a recent paper, Edwards lays bare the source of current reform efforts:

> Since 1987-88 there has been remarkable transformation in economic thinking in Latin America. Protectionism and interventionist views have given way to openness, market orientation and competition ... This change in economic thinking resulted in a new *Latin American Consensus* ... Some analysts have referred to this process as the 'Washington Consensus', and have suggested that the new policies were imposed on Latin America by the U.S. Treasury, the IMF and the World Bank. This interpretation is overly U.S.-centrist and clearly misses the internal Latin American political dynamics.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rate Expectations

Jim Poterba has become a general in the rational expectations revolution. Rational expectations is an economic theory that assumes people anticipate changes in the economy, and act in accordance with their predictions. A seemingly simple insight, the theory has been used by Robert Lucas of Chicago, among others, to show that, if consumers learn from experience, it is not within the government's power to stimulate the economy. Poterba concurs. "I believe very much that the economic behavior people engage in today is not affected just by today's system of taxation," said Poterba, "but also by what they expect tax policy to be in the future. If I buy a tax-exempt bond today, I'm taking into account future tax policy when I make that decision."

Poterba is chiefly concerned with public finance and tax policy. He is one of a number of public finance economists, including Harvard's Martin Feldstein, studying how people respond to changes in tax policy. But Poterba is uniquely situated to influence future research. At 36, he is the director of the NBER's public economics research program, which enables him to stimulate research into targeted areas. "I bring together large databases of information with an economic theory (rational expectations) that suggests where to look and what to look for," said Poterba.

Poterba graduated from Harvard in 1980, where he was influenced by Feldstein and Lawrence Summers. A Marshall Scholarship enabled him to attend Oxford, where he received his Ph.D. in 1983. He has been a member of the economics department at MIT ever since. In the broader economic world, he has been named a Fellow to the Econometric Society and to the Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences.

Poterba's most promising research analyzes spending by local governments. He is trying to understand why some states and localities are more spendthrift than others. Poterba has identified fiscal constitutions as an important factor. "If you compare states with strict balanced budget rules to those with loose ones, legislators tend to react much more quickly to monetary shortfalls and overruns when they are operating under a tight fiscal constitution," says Poterba. This means that tight fiscal guidelines can rein in big-spender legislators, while loose restrictions encourage profligate spending. Poterba also found that states with separate capital and operating budgets tend to spend more. This shows that budgetary institutions largely determine budgetary outcomes. It may appear commonsensical that spending guidelines affect actual expenditures, but there has been little hard evidence to prove it. Poterba plans to continue working on the impact of fiscal institutions on government behavior, as well as studying the effect of tax rules on personal savings.

Tax-and-spend dilemmas are at the heart of Poterba's research, which often addresses specific policy questions. For instance, his upcoming article in the *Journal of Public Economics* demonstrates that 401K plans have had a positive effect on the economy as a whole, by raising household savings throughout the country. Poterba's *American Economic Review* article on the distribution of the gas tax also merits attention. Others have argued that such taxes are regressive, because they hit Chevy Nova drivers as hard as BMW owners. Both pump gas. But Poterba focuses on drivers' lifetime earnings, not simply their current salary. His insight, then, is to point out that many college students currently driving Chevy Nova's will be driving BMW's a few years down the road. Thus the taxes are not as regressive as they initially appear.

Duke of Hazard

A student who spent his free time in college volunteering for Ralph Nader's watchdog organization would appear an unlikely candidate to become a leading critic of federal regulatory measures. But **Kip Viscusi's** experience as a Naderite gave him a clear understanding of the havoc regulatory agencies can wreak. Viscusi, now 44, went on to become a key player in the Reagan-era regulatory reforms and has been the George G. Allen professor of economics at Duke University since 1988.

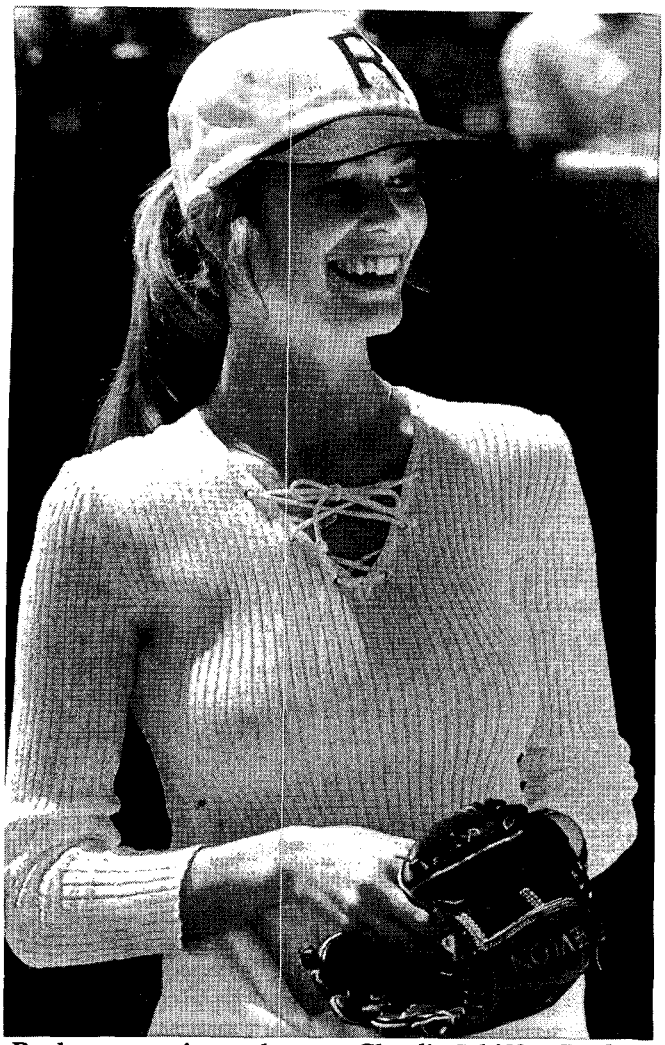
Anxious to involve himself in regulatory policy work, Viscusi spent two of his undergraduate summers away from Harvard working for Nader in Washington. He learned to apply cost-benefit analysis to regulatory programs. Cost-benefit analysis weighs the financial cost of protective regulations against the expected benefit in terms of reduced health hazards. As a student, Viscusi used cost-benefit as an advocate of increased federal regulation. He continues to use the approach today, although now a leading critic of many regulatory policies. "I've been consistent all along," he insists, "unlike the advocacy community, which uses cost-benefit analysis only when it suits their purposes, and abandons it when it doesn't."

Viscusi graduated in 1971, staying on at Harvard for his M.A., M.P.A., and Ph.D., which he completed in 1976. He was then hired by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OHSA), which had been under fire from critics, to demonstrate its success. "They funded me to find a safety effect they had, but there wasn't any," says Viscusi. "That was the last big grant I've received from them." Viscusi said this experience taught him, "People have allegiances to their organizations and they're blind to adverse impacts their agencies might have."

Viscusi has had a considerable impact on public policy. During the Carter administration, he was deputy director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability. Viscusi said his work in regulatory oversight taught him how difficult it is to control prices. He attained his greatest influence during the Reagan administration. Viscusi helped popularize the notion that individuals' willingness to undergo risks should be taken into account by hazard regulators. This implies that someone who decides to become a construction worker willingly accepts a high on-the-job risk rate, and it is not up to the government to ensure he faces the same exact risk of occupational hazard as a lower-paid office worker. Adoption of Viscusi's argument by OSHA and other regulatory agencies prompted the *Washington Post* to call him, "the Reagan administration expert on the value of life."

Individuals' ability to assess personal risk is also the theme of *Smoking: Making the Risky Decision.* In this recent book, Viscusi proves that smokers—seen by regulators as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Bettmann

Revlon cosmetics spokesman Claudia Schiffer. Revlon bounced back after a corporate takeover, a field of particular interest to Chicago's Robert Vishny and Harvard's Andrei Shleifer.

ignorant prey of the tobacco industry—are well aware of health problems they may incur. Smokers actually *overestimated* the odds of dying from lung cancer and other smoking-related illnesses, in a survey Viscusi himself conducted in Durham. If they are aware of the risks, why do they continue to puff away? Smokers appear to be risk-takers, reasons Viscusi, citing another survey he conducted, in which workers in Oregon who smoked were more willing than their peers to accept various hazardous jobs.

Viscusi has published extensively in the areas of occupational safety, product-labeling, smoking, environmental hazards and federal regulations. He has written 15 books and over 100 professional articles. During the 1990s, his influence in academic circles has soared: Viscusi is now cited in academic journals nearly as often as Chicago's Sam Peltzman, the acknowledged leader in the field of risk and insurance.

His most recent work deals with Superfund's environmental regulation. Along with Duke colleague James Hamilton and 12 assistants, Viscusi is conducting an in-depth study of the health risks addressed by Superfund. "This will be the biggest thing I've ever done," he said. The Superfund program was created under the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act of 1980, in response to disasters such as Love Canal. Under Superfund, the EPA has identified tens of thousands of hazardous waste sites and begun to supervise their cleanup. The costly clean-up strategies adopted under Superfund have been criticized, but Viscusi and his cohorts at Duke are asking a more fundamental question: Do the sites identified as "hazardous" actually pose a risk to local residents?

In examining the data collected by regional EPA offices, Viscusi and Hamilton found that 90 percent of the risk associated with the sites—according to the EPA's own data—is based on conjecture regarding future use of the areas. The actual risk of harm to local residents is very slim. Viscusi and Hamilton recommend avoiding health risks by curbing future use of the land, not engaging in massive clean up efforts. The only criticism of the study thus far, says Viscusi, has come from people that own waste disposal companies, "Because we may put them out of business if we say about a given site that all you have to do is put a fence around it and then forget it."

The Health of Nations

The field of health economics, which evolved in recent decades from the disciplines of labor economics, industrial organization, and public finance, appears to have come of age in light of the current debate over health reform. Health economists formed much of Ira Magaziner's health-care task force; others were invited to Washington to testify concerning health reform before congressional subcommittees. **Michael Morrisey**, the 42-year old Director of the Lister Hill Center for Health Policy at the University of Alabama Birmingham (UAB), has conducted an overview of the expanding field. A few years ago, Morrisey and Roger Feldman of the University of Minnesota conducted a study of 518 health economists. Theirs was the first study to investigate the views of these economists, many of whom are now firmly ensconced in government, business, and research firms, and whose views "may exert a disproportionate influence on health policy in this country." The results, published in the *Journal of Health Policy, Politics and Law*, demonstrated that health economists are particularly dependent on external grants and contracts, and less market-oriented in their views than other professional economists. A majority of those surveyed favored Canadian-style national health care over the current U.S. system. Interestingly, those trained at the very best economics programs, and younger health economists generally, reject nationalized health care.

Although he presides over a major academic health center, Morrisey is skeptical of such bodies, pointing out that, like similar organizations, they tend to work to serve their own institutional priorities—such as advancing research agendas and enlarging the role of health economists—not in pursuance of the "public good." For this reason, he has misgivings about the pronounced public policy role of academic health research. "Personally, I try to be honest and tell people that when I do research, I have a stake in fostering further investigation into the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

area I'm studying," he says. Despite these misgivings, Morrisey's star is rising. In 1991, he received the John D. Thompson Award for Outstanding Health Service Research by an individual under the age of 40. His recent articles on employer mandates and cost-shifting have made him an important voice in the public policy debate over health reform.

Morrisey is among those arguing that mandated health insurance coverage will be financed by the reduction of wages and other benefits. This reduction is the employers' way of gaining compensation for taking on the burden of health coverage, he argues in *American Health Policy*. The ironic result is that, "Mandated coverage will be predominately paid for by uninsured workers themselves." Morrisey also opposes mandates because they politicize health-care decisions at the expense of individual choice. "There are some strong reasons to believe that democratic control of health-care costs would be especially difficult. There is a strong temptation by politicians to over-provide some services," he writes in *The American Enterprise*. "I believe that the best approach is one that goes to great pains to make choices explicit. Thus, the 'employer-payment' option should be avoided in favor of laying the obligation explicitly on households."

Failing Grade

When the Clinton Health Plan was released last fall, it was judged a failure by at least one academic evaluator. In a *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* editorial, Professor **Bryan Dowd** of the University of Minnesota said the substance of the plan merited an "F." He reiterates the sentiment in an upcoming paper, "The Clinton Health Care Reform Proposal: Efficiency, Fairness and the Role of Government." Dowd writes, "The administration's proposal continues the federal government's policy of pouring billions of dollars of subsidies into the purchase of health insurance and health-care services and then trying to patch up the resulting problems." Dowd, who is 42, draws these conclusions based on the intensive studies of health-care markets that he and senior colleague Roger Feldman have been conducting for years at the Institute for Health Services Research at the University of Minnesota's School of Public Health.

Dowd and Feldman are nationally recognized for their studies of competition among employment-based health-care plans. The pair have estimated the cost of health-care "overinsurance," which occurs when individuals are steered into higher-priced health plans than necessary by their employers. Following up on a similar estimate done in 1973 by Martin Feldstein, they used updated data from the $80 million Rand Health Insurance Experiment to compute the results, published three years ago in the *American Economic Review*. They found that between $33.4 and $109.3 billion dollars was wasted due to overinsurance during a single year, 1984. Dowd said that the favorable tax treatment accorded to employer-sponsored plans is the major cause of overinsurance, since it encourages employers to channel employee compensation toward health benefits—and away from paychecks.

The research done by Dowd and his Minnesota colleagues has been drawn upon by market-oriented reformers. Senator David Durenberger's (R-MN) refers to

Reuters/Bettmann

President Clinton got an 'F' on his health-care plan from Bryan Dowd of the University of Minnesota.

Dowd's proposal for a competitive pricing system to replace the current administrative pricing system in Medicare as forming the intellectual foundation of his recently introduced bill, the "Medicare Choice Act of 1994." This bill seeks to make the Medicare system more cost-effective by putting decisions in the hands of its consumers, through competitive bidding. Durenberger borrowed the idea from a 1992 *Milbank Quarterly* article, co-authored by Dowd, which argues that the government should behave like a self-insured employer offering a choice of multiple health plans. Thus, contributions to premiums for Medicare beneficiaries should be equal to the lowest cost plan in a market area. Recipients can choose any plan, but have to pay the marginal cost of more expensive plans out of their own pocket.

Dowd's research on competition between plans has made him a critic of "Any Willing Provider" laws, which insist that no medical provider be excluded from joining an existing HMO or other provider group. "We've found evidence of how competition among health-care plans can trickle down into competition between providers who must contract with those plans," said Dowd. "Every health plan doesn't have to be open to every provider. Although no one likes to be told they must change their doctor, they should be given the opportunity to exchange an element of choice for a lower premium plan."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Yes We Kenosha

With Can-Do Capitalism, a Wisconsin Town Busts Out of the Rustbelt

Stephen Glass

Early in 1988 Kenosha, Wisconsin became the symbol for the media of all that is supposedly wrong with American capitalism. In January that year, the Chrysler Corporation announced that two days before Christmas, it would close the nation's oldest car factory, laying off 5,500 workers. The plant employed 40 percent of Kenosha's manufacturing workforce, and news accounts were universal in predicting doom for the rustbelt community.

A man dressed as the Grim Reaper paced somberly in front of the auto plant as CNN reported the closure. "This is a journey into misery," an autoworker told the network. "God knows what will happen to this community," a state senator told the Milwaukee CBS affiliate.

Democratic presidential hopefuls rushed to Kenosha to attack this symbol of the "decade of greed." Jesse Jackson called for a "worker's bill of rights" and denounced the "economic violence" of Chrysler and the American economy under Ronald Reagan. Michael Dukakis wrote to Chrysler CEO Lee Iacocca asking him to save the plant. And Senator Paul Simon (D-IL) accused the corporation of raw profiteering.

But the liberal Democrats, and their friends in the national media, just didn't get it.

Today, six years after the last car rolled off the line, Kenosha has gone from bust to boomtown: Unemployment has been halved, per capita income is up, and new housing starts have soared. This community has become a testament to the resiliency of market capitalism, traditional values, and conservative economic policies. Kenosha is a special tribute to the tax-cutting policies of Wisconsin under Governor Tommy Thompson.

Jobless Rate Halved

"There is no doubt in my mind that we're doing better," says Rick Nemeth, who bought his own tavern after he was laid off. "I have learned that initiative pays off. You're not going to make money overnight, but now I wake up every morning and I am happy with my life." During his 20 years on the assembly-line, Nemeth never made more than $24,000 in a year; today he earns more than $40,000.

And Nemeth is not an exception: Since Chrysler pulled out in December 1988, the unemployment rate has averaged 5.7 percent, less than half the mean of 11.6 percent during the five years preceding the shutdown. Moreover, average annual wages in the community have risen nearly $2,000 per person.

The turnaround came as no surprise to University of Wisconsin-Parkside economist Dick Keehn, who has studied the local economy for almost 25 years, and had predicted the coming boom. In fact, Keehn had urged the community to rid itself of the plant for nearly a decade in order to improve the rustbelt economy.

The economist's reasoning is simple: Since 1959, when the Simmons mattress company left Kenosha, the auto plant, which had been run by the American Motors Corporation (AMC) before being taken over by Chrysler in 1987, had single-handedly dominated the local labor market. In fact, the region's second largest private employers had hired only one-tenth to one-third the number of workers on the car company's payroll, which reached 16,000 under AMC in the 1960s and topped $130 million in the 1980s. This domination of the labor pool by a single company, whose payroll fluctuated dramatically, destabilized the entire region. Smaller companies frequently lost workers to the auto plant, which paid inflated union wages, and new companies were discouraged from moving to the unstable community.

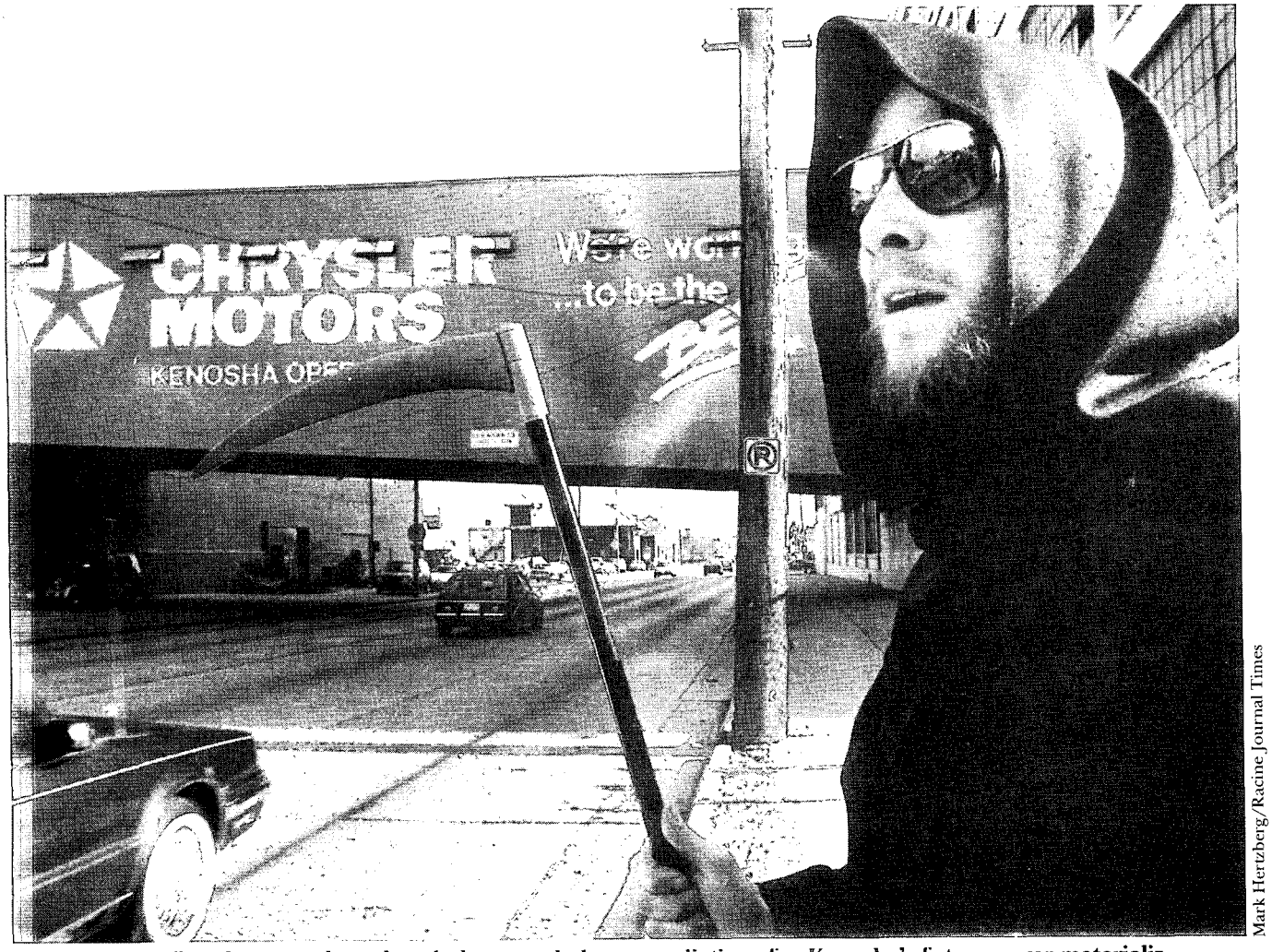
Small Businesses Thrive

The excessive union wages in Kenosha, which in 1985 were $1.65 higher per hour than Chrysler workers across the nation and rated the "least competitive" in the industry, drove jobs away from southeastern Wisconsin. United Auto Worker (UAW) projections in 1988—that the plant closing would force 15,000 people out of work by 1990—were therefore grossly inflated. Instead, that year, only 3,100 people were jobless in the entire county; the shutdown had provided a market where small businesses could compete. Dashed as well were union predictions that 53 percent of dislocated Chrysler workers would be unemployed two years after the closing: Only one-fifth were jobless 27 months after the plant shut down.

Ted Schiess Sr. is one of the auto workers who benefited from the new businesses. Schiess had been a security guard at the Chrysler facility for 24 years when Lee

Stephen Glass *is assistant editor of* Policy Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Mark Hertzberg/Racine Journal Times

Six years after the auto plant closed, doom and gloom predictions for Kenosha's future never materialized. Unemployment has been halved, per capita income is up, and new housing starts have soared.

Iacocca announced that the plant would be closed. He is now the safety and security supervisor at a high-tech ink company that moved to Kenosha County after the auto industry left. While Lawter International, Inc., expanded its payroll to 88 people when it moved to Wisconsin from Chicago, it is unlikely it would have been able to compete with the car plant for labor.

"I was the one who shut the lights out and locked the doors of the plant for the last time," Schiess said. "[I felt] Chrysler had used me, but now it has worked out." In fact, it has worked out so well that both of his sons have attended college and Schiess, who is earning a salary that is slightly better than at Chrysler, is saving for his retirement.

Just as inflated union wages drove away jobs, the unstable employer also stunted home sales; in the years since Chrysler left, however, construction firms have had difficulty keeping up with new building. Ken Davis, a local realtor since 1978, said Kenoshans would often rent a home for 20 years rather than buy, since they were nervous about the stagnant mono-economy. These fears are reflected in new home sales: From 1980 to the plant closing in 1988, the county granted an average of 401 new housing permits a year. In the years following the plant shut down the county has averaged more than 1,000 approved permits annually.

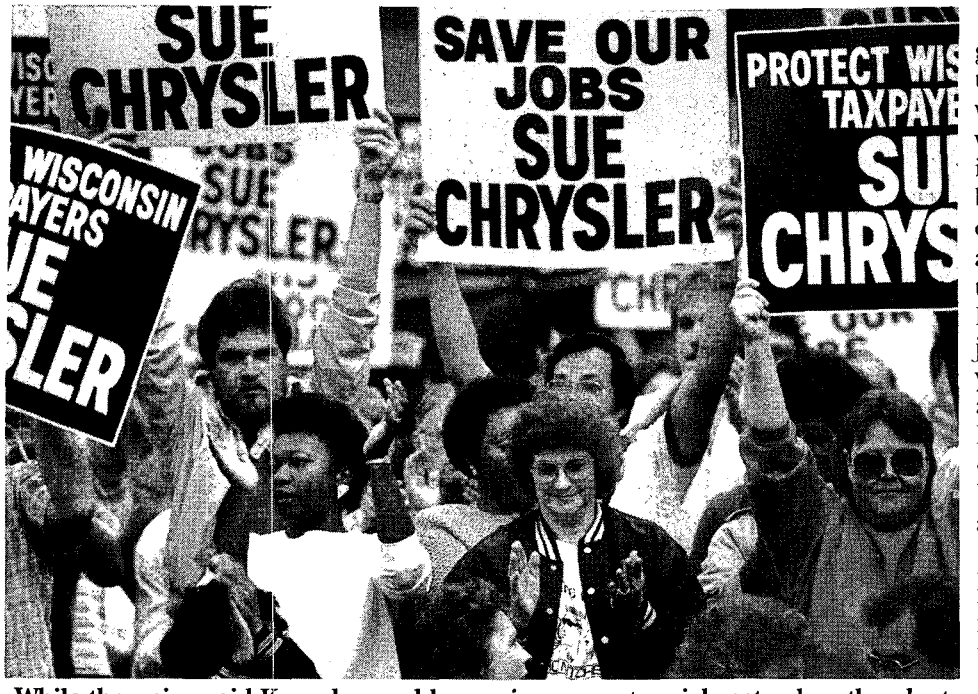
"We are much better off without the auto plant," Davis said. "This diversified economy is more stable and people aren't terrified to build homes." Whereas houses used to linger on the market for months, in 1993 the average house was sold within 90 days of being offered. It is clear that union-driven public policies, which tried to save the auto plant at any cost, undermined confidence in the local economy.

Doomsayers Silenced

The anticipated social costs of the shut-down, trumpeted by the Left, also failed to materialize. Union members said domestic violence, alcoholism, and suicide rates would increase when the plant closed. "It's a well-known fact that communities all over the country have experienced these tragedies with a loss of a major employer," United Auto Workers Local 72 President Rudy Kuzel said. "Kenosha would be unique if it didn't follow the pattern."

But research by University of Wisconsin-Parkside sociologist Anne Statham on hundreds of dislocated Chrysler workers demonstrates that just as the market adjusted for the job loss, area residents also adapted well to the clos-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Charles S. Vallone/Racine Journal Times

While the union said Kenosha would experience great social costs when the plant closed, surveys indicate that the laid-off workers adapted well to the change.

ing. Rather than witnessing soaring domestic violence reports, Statham proved that despite being laid off, the dislocated workers had stable family lives: 89 percent reported "never" or "seldom" having tension with their spouse, and 93 percent reported "never" or "seldom" having tension with their children. Moreover, 97 percent of the dislocated workers said they "never" or "seldom" have problems with drinking too much, indicating that the alcoholism predictions were ludicrous.

Tom Dorff is in a position to know if suicide rates increased: He was Kenosha's coroner at the time of the plant closing. "I'm telling you, I didn't notice any difference at all," he said. "My business didn't pick up. It was all very normal."

Finally, Statham disproved the Left's social cost predictions when she asked dislocated Chrysler workers to evaluate their overall life satisfaction three years after they were laid off. Statham's research indicated that 74.9 percent of dislocated workers rated their "life as a whole" positively, while a similar Gallup poll found only 21 percent of Americans nationwide felt the same way.

The market, however, did not act alone in prompting this growth. Traditional values of self-reliance and a strong work ethic are prominent in the Kenosha culture. For instance, sociologist Statham found that 62 percent of the dislocated workers believe that "misfortunes result from the mistakes people make," while only 27 percent of the workers believe that "unhappiness in life is due to bad luck."

Dave Guardiolo, a former paint-sprayer at the Chrysler plant, demonstrates this belief in personal responsibility. After the factory closing was announced, Guardiolo returned to school and earned a degree in criminal justice. He is now a corrections officer at a county prison where he earns comparable pay and enjoys the challenge of his new job.

In addition to responding generally about their values system, two-thirds of the dislocated workers indicated "there is a job waiting for me if I just look for it," while only a quarter said they believe finding a job is a matter of luck. Leota Boughn, a waitress at the Three Coins Diner, said this properly reflects the Kenosha climate. "There are jobs if people want to work. If you are not lazy, anybody can get a job," said Boughn, who raised her two children single-handedly. "Look at me, I have never been out of work for more than a week."

Yale Professor Kathryn Marie Dudley can't understand Boughn's straight-forward logic. In Dudley's new book, *The End of the Line: Lost Jobs, New Lives in Postindustrial America,* the anthropologist relates stories of ruined Kenosha families. She blames the "culture of the mind"—white-collar, college-educated professionals that worked to draw new businesses to the community—for implementing "social Darwinism" and trampling the factory workers' culture. She glorifies their fight to keep the plant and is shocked that many members of the community are "cheerful" and "upbeat" about the benefits of the closing. "Nothing I'd read before starting my fieldwork on the Chrysler shutdown quite prepared me for the fact that a lot of people in and around Kenosha were happy to see the plant close."

Although Dudley can't comprehend the transition, the community has come to understand that fighting to keep the plant open is as absurd as workers wanting the Bain Wagon Works to stay in business 100 years ago. At the turn of the century, this horse-drawn carriage company was one of Kenosha's largest employers, building almost 12,000 buggies in 1890. Although it was the first southeastern-Wisconsin company to produce for more than the local market, by 1920 the firm had laid off all but 100 employees: There simply was no way to compete with the upstart auto plant.

A Victory for the Market

While the closing of the auto plant in Kenosha allowed a conservative market-based economy to germinate, Governor Tommy Thompson's pro-business initiatives—specifically deregulation and tax reductions—provided the necessary fertilizer. By minimizing state control over utilities, Thompson allowed the Wisconsin Energy and Power Corporation (WEPCO) to build a $1.6 billion corporate park in Kenosha County, which is just 45 minutes north of Chicago. This reduction in government interference provided WEPCO with the ability to attract more power consumers to Wisconsin, and energy costs have subsequently fallen; they are currently 20 to 40 percent less

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than the rates in neighboring Illinois.

The low power and land costs have enticed 17 companies to relocate from Chicago to the Kenosha industrial park. And this protection from government has translated into significant savings which promotes ingenuity. For instance, Calumet Diversified Meats, Inc. developed one of the nation's most advanced pork processing facilities in Kenosha once it was freed from Illinois's expensive, highly regulated utility costs.

Likewise, Brooks Sausage, one of McDonald's three national suppliers of breakfast meat with sales of $30 million, saved $400,000 a year on power costs by moving from Chicago to Kenosha. These annual savings have allowed the company, which was recently ranked by *Black Enterprise* as one of the nation's 30 largest black-owned corporations, to enter the highly-competitive Japanese food market.

Unlike many of its neighboring companies, Nitro-Bar Inc. did not relocate from Chicago, but began in 1992 in the Kenosha industrial park, where it has since developed a high-tech method to remove chrome plating.

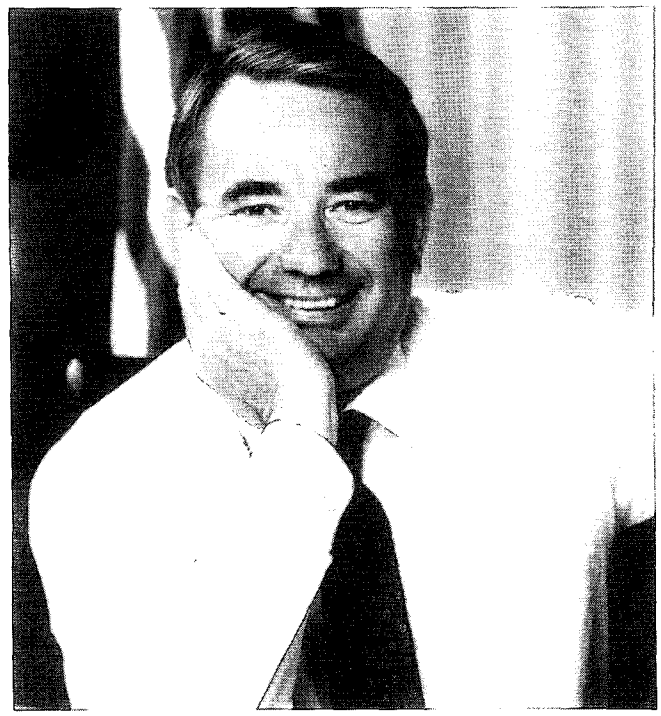
These companies embody the creative destruction inherent in Thompson's Wisconsin economic miracle. The 6 million-square foot Chrysler car plant was highly inefficient. Since it was originally intended to manufacture bicycles and mattresses, the factory was divided into two facilities 1.5 miles apart: the lakefront plant, which includes the painting facility, and the main plant where final assembly takes place. Smaller cars, such as the Omni and Horizon, had their frames built, trimmed, and painted at the lakefront facility and then were trucked to the main plant for assembly. The larger cars, such as the Fifth Avenue, were built at the main plant, sent to the lakefront plant for painting, and then trucked back to the main plant for assembly.

While liberals may think America's economy is faltering when an inefficient Chrysler plant closes, conservatives look at Calumet Diversified Meats, Brooks Sausage, and Nitro-Bar and know that America is thriving. In fact, since the Chrysler plant closed, Kenosha has gained 33 percent more employers.

The Wisconsin Miracle

Governor Thompson has promoted business throughout the state, and specifically in Kenosha, by advocating the creation of Tax Incremental Financing (TIF) districts, despite significant liberal opposition. TIF districts allow businesses to more readily develop infrastructure. For instance, one of the attractions of Wisconsin for Illinois companies is lower land costs. If an industrial park had to pay for infrastructure improvement, this advantage would be readily lost: TIF districts allow the local governments to retire bonds for these improvements with a portion of the tax revenue that is generated by the new businesses.

Thompson also created a 60-percent exemption for capital gains and eliminated inheritance taxes. In fact, over the past seven years, state taxes have been cut by more than $1 billion, and Wisconsin is still the only state to have had a balanced budget in each of those terms. Wayne Koessel, an official with WEPCO, believes these



Governor Tommy Thompson's tax cuts have made Wisconsin the best small business climate in the North.

efforts have promoted a business friendly environment that encourages companies to move to, or expand within, Wisconsin. Cognetics, a Massachusetts-based economic think tank, agrees. In 1993 and 1994 the research group rated Wisconsin the best small business climate outside of the sunbelt.

Kenosha is not the only region to have benefited from Thompson's pro-business initiatives: From 1983 to June 1994 the entire state's unemployment rate has dropped from 10.4 percent to 4.3 percent. During the last seven years, Wisconsin created 44,600 manufacturing jobs while the nation lost 1.1 million. The Dairy State is a textbook example of conservative economics and disproves the liberal contention that government must raise taxes to increase revenue. The drastic tax cuts have resulted in a 39 percent increase in state revenue. Likewise, lower taxes have created jobs, and the state has realized a 19 percent decrease—the nation's highest—in welfare cases. In fact, every county has reported a decline in the number of welfare recipients since 1987 and 50 of the 72 counties report at least 30 percent less cases.

Kenosha is an illustration of the beauty of American capitalism. While the Left tried to interfere in the market to prop up an inefficient plant, their failure—and the community's subsequent success—demonstrates the resilience of a conservative economy. The Chrysler facility was replaced by small- and medium-sized companies that were more suited to compete. Simultaneously, the unfettered market aided workers who realized higher wages and lower unemployment rates.

Doris Techert, 73 and a life-long resident of Kenosha, says that the people of Kenosha know the economy is healthy: "If you want to work here, I'll guarantee you can get a job. This is the American Dream." ☎

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Riddles, Mysteries, and Enigmas

Unanswered Questions of Communism's Collapse

Ilya Somin

The end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union are surely the most important events in world history since the conclusion of the Second World War. Yet we still have only a very incomplete understanding of how this outcome came about and why. The most prominent explanation, that the Soviet economy collapsed under the weight of its own contradictions, is simply inadequate to explain the speed and breadth of the empire's demise.

Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's claim, that "Ronald Reagan won the Cold War without firing a shot," is also incomplete. Much academic work remains to be done before we can have a clear picture of why the Soviet Union collapsed and what, if anything, the West did to help it along. *Policy Review* interviewed some of America's leading specialists on the history of the Cold War to help identify key areas of research that need to be addressed if the Soviet decline is to be more fully understood.

Internal Economic Crises

Scholars of all ideological stripes agree on several points. Recent study has revealed the extent to which Mikhail Gorbachev and his advisers underestimated the power of nationalism in Eastern Europe and ethnic separatism in the USSR. Even more fundamentally, it is now generally agreed that the reformers overestimated how much the Soviet political and economic system could be revamped without destroying its foundation.

In the foreign policy realm, the writings of Jeffrey Herf and the German scholar Josef Joffe have amply demonstrated how Soviet strategy in Europe was upset by the successful NATO deployment of the Pershing 2 "Euromissiles" in 1983. Soviet Foreign Minister Edouard Shevardnadze has admitted that the goal of Soviet foreign policy had been "to force the Americans out of Europe at any cost," and thus failure of the Soviet effort in Europe was a bitter blow. We also know that the Soviets suffered a painful defeat in Afghanistan.

Yet these domestic miscalculations and foreign policy defeats do not fully account for the fall of the Soviet empire and the end of the Cold War. While it is clear that Gorbachev failed to predict the consequences of his reforms, we still await a definitive answer to the question of why he sought to reform in the first place. Though Afghanistan and the Euromissile crisis seriously set back Soviet efforts at expansion, they did not fatally imperil the USSR's ability to hold on to territories it already possessed.

As already noted, the simplest and most obvious explanation for Gorbachev's decision to embark on drastic reform was the Soviet Union's looming internal economic crisis, the theory adopted by most conservative and liberal commentators. Liberals, of course, were notably silent about Moscow's economic problems until they became impossible to ignore. Indeed, in pre-Gorbachev days, leading liberal economists such as Paul Samuelson, John Kenneth Galbraith, and Lester Thurow persistently claimed that the Soviet economy was more productive and provided a higher standard of living than conservative free marketeers were willing to give it credit for.

Imperial Overstretch

Undersecretary of State Strobe Talbott, like many liberal Soviet-watchers, has tried to have it both ways. In his famous 1990 *Time* magazine article on "Rethinking the Red Menace," Talbott contended that the Soviet Union had been so weak economically that it never could have posed much of a threat to begin with—a repudiation of his earlier assertions that the Reagan military buildup would be ineffective because the Soviets had sufficient resources to carry on a massive arms race indefinitely.

Though it is certainly true that the Soviet economy was in poor shape in the 1980s, it is highly disputable that this alone could have led the Soviet Union to collapse as quickly as it did. If the Soviet economy was weak, the economies of Cuba and North Korea were and remain weaker still, yet these regimes persist. The Soviet standard of living in the mid-1980s, while low, was probably not much worse than it had been under Brezhnev, and was certainly much better than under Stalin.

Moreover, whatever the economic reality, the Soviet elite was well insulated from popular pressure for a higher quality of life. The people who held real power in the USSR—high-ranking government officials and Communist Party apparatchiks—actually experienced a rising

Ilya Somin *is a senior at Amherst College.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reuters/Bettmann

We know that the Soviets suffered a painful defeat in Afghanistan; we are less certain about their original motives for the invasion.

standard of living in the 1970s and 1980s. They had greater opportunities to travel abroad and obtain Western goods, and could exploit the Soviet Union's own vast resources for their personal benefit.

Gorbachev himself, despite his populist rhetoric, was no exception to an ethic of contempt for popular economic woes. As head of the Communist Party Central Committee Directorate for Agriculture, he never used the discretionary authority he possessed to seriously reform the agriculture system, even though persistent food shortages were among the greatest sources of suffering for the Soviet people. In fact, Gorbachev opposed private ownership of land right up until the end of his rule—despite the fact that the small private plots allowed by the state authorities produced much of the nation's food. The crucial point, that of the economic isolation of the Kremlin elite, has unfortunately been ignored in nearly all economic analyses of Soviet decline.

While it is true that the Soviets were guilty of "imperial overstretch," it is not clear that Moscow's sudden release of the Eastern Bloc was necessarily dictated by the poor condition of the Soviet economy. In a 1987 paper, Rand Corporation economist Charles Wolf argued that the cost of the Soviet empire was more than 6 percent of the USSR's GNP by 1981 and, in a recent interview, he claimed that this cost was anywhere from 6 to 9 percent under Gorbachev. Yet, burdensome as this overcommitment was, the Soviet Union could pay it if its leaders were willing to sacrifice other priorities to do so.

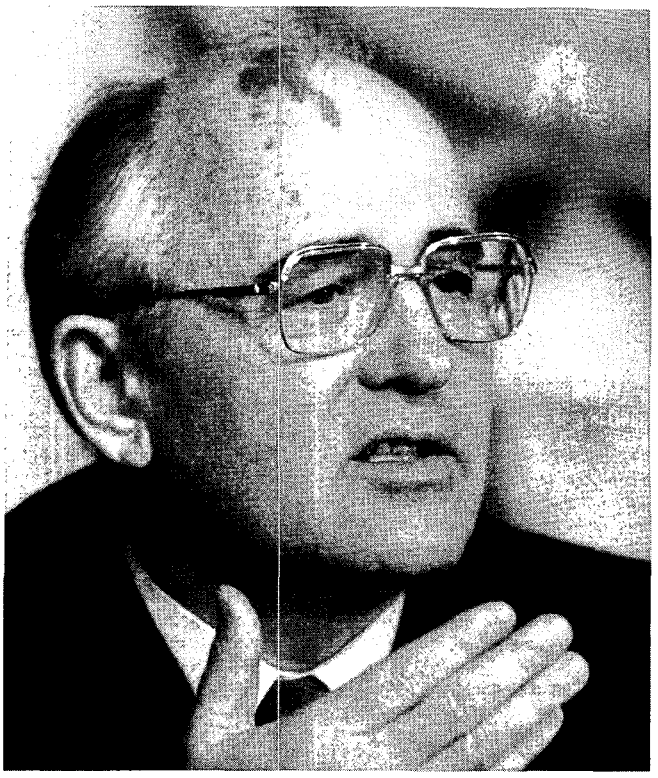
In fact, Gorbachev actually increased military assistance to Moscow's Third-World clients during his first two years in power. Six to 9 percent of GNP for imperial ventures may seem like a lot, but from an orthodox Marxist-Leninist perspective, few, if any, other purposes were more worthy of funding. As historian Paul Kennedy, the doyen of the "overstretch" theory of imperial decline, points out in the *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* that imperial regimes may maintain their outlying possessions long after they are no longer economically viable.

Collapse of Morale

A new consensus seems to be emerging among moderate to conservative scholars about the nature of the Soviet collapse. It is true that almost no amount of Western pressure or Gorbachevite miscalculation would have sufficed to topple the Soviet economic system if it had been fundamentally sound. But economic failure alone was not enough to cause this collapse. Rather, economic difficulties were a necessary, but insufficient, prerequisite for the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet empire.

In his recent work *The Soviet Tragedy*, historian Martin Malia has reasserted the importance of ideology and the Communist elite's political goals in shaping the fate of the Soviet Union. It may be that the Soviet economy was strong enough to maintain the regime and possibly even its external empire for the foreseeable future, but too weak to continue to support Soviet imperial and ambitions in the face of stiffening Western resistance. In other words, the ideological purpose of the regime was not merely to survive, but to continually increase its power and influence. In such a scenario, Soviet leaders may have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Reuters/Bettmann

While it is clear that Gorbachev failed to predict the consequences of his reforms, we still await an answer to why he sought reform in the first place.

embarked on a policy of economic reform not to stave off collapse, but to strengthen their long-term prospects of successfully challenging the West.

In order to understand the Soviet collapse more fully, we must therefore look to non-economic causes. Specifically, if the decision to embark on reform was not, in fact, predetermined by "objective" economic conditions, what was it caused by? Why were the Soviet leaders intent on reform and how far were they willing to go at any given time?

The answer to this question requires a close analysis of the internal dynamics of the Soviet ruling elite in the 1980s. Too little is known about their motivation currently. Likewise, the impact of Western, and particularly American, policy on the USSR must also be considered with greater precision.

In internal Soviet affairs, among the most crucial of the issues pointed to by Cold War specialists is the decline in the morale of the Soviet leaders and their gradual loss of faith in communism as traditionally practiced in the USSR. While the Soviet Union faced many long-term crises when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985, it is difficult to believe that it was inevitably doomed to collapse so quickly. It may be true, as Johns Hopkins University's Professor Charles Fairbanks put it, that the Soviet system imposed "demands that human nature could not tolerate indefinitely." Yet Soviet repression of natural longings for freedom and self-expression was no more onerous in the mid-1980s than it had been throughout most of the history of the regime. As late as 1989, Moscow retained sufficient military power to at least temporarily maintain the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe; as late as 1991, it could probably have successfully stifled the movement toward democracy and national self-determination within the USSR itself, though not indefinitely.

Thus, the fall of the Soviet Union represents, in large part, a "collapse of morale" on the part of its leaders, in the words of former U.S. Undersecretary of Defense Fred C. Ikle. The reasons for their declining self-image and their "loss of the ability to repress," as Charles Fairbanks called it, are, at this point, only partially understood.

Several of our interviewees agreed that more must be done to trace the roots of Gorbachev's reform agenda in the thinking and policies of his predecessor and longtime patron Yuri Andropov. During his brief tenure as General Secretary of the Communist Party (1982-84), Andropov began to implement a program of limited economic reforms intended to promote efficiency. He also sponsored a series of studies, notably sociologist Tatiana Zaslavskaya's 1983 Novosibirsk Report, which described the state of the Soviet Union in bleak terms.

Former Defense Intelligence Agency analyst William T. Lee contends that Andropov had long been the leader of the "pessimistic" school of thought within the Soviet elite, which said that the global "correlation" of forces was not inexorably shifting in favor of the "socialist camp"—as Brezhnevite orthodoxy contended—but was instead tilting toward the West. This impression likely was heightened by the arms buildup and economic recovery begun by the Reagan administration, though to what extent and in what ways is unclear. Scholars should seek to pin down precisely how far Andropov, and later Gorbachev, were prepared to go with their reforms, for surely neither envisioned the events of 1991.

Reforming Tigers

In addition to the USSR's internal decay, and the threat of an unfavorable turn in the tide of history, Soviet leaders also seem to have been influenced by the example of the "Asian Tigers"—South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. These nations had achieved impressive economic miracles without—so it seemed—yielding to pressures for full democratization.

Harvard historian Richard Pipes and American Enterprise Institute analyst Patrick Glynn stress the need to systematically examine the extent to which these East Asian precedents influenced Soviet thinking on reform. It is likely that the Soviets 1) underestimated how easily even the relatively mild authoritarianism of the East Asian states could be undermined by free markets (witness the democratizaton of South Korea and Taiwan), and 2) like U.S. industrial policy advocates, failed to see that the Tigers' achievements were based on full-fledged capitalism rather than mere variations of central planning. They therefore may have believed that the East Asian "miracles" provided them with a model for sustained growth, combined with continuing dictatorship and some form of economic statism. If so, their attraction to these Asian economies lends further evidence of their declining faith in their own system.

Just as there is doubt as to the origin and initial intent of Gorbachev's economic and political reforms, there are also unanswered questions concerning his foreign policy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agenda. Few foreign policy setbacks in the 1980s caused the Soviets more grief than their failure to win a decisive victory in Afghanistan. In the end, Gorbachev agreed to withdraw from the country, yet during his first two years in power he had actually escalated the war.

It is still not clear why Gorbachev stepped up the Soviet effort, though it seems likely that it was part of a "win or get out" strategic conception of the conflict. On the other hand, it is also possible, as Patrick Glynn speculates, that Gorbachev's escalation was merely intended to achieve a better bargaining position for negotiations. It would be extremely useful to determine Gorbachev's actual intentions, whether through interviews with former officials or—better still, because the officials might dissemble—through analysis of recently opened Soviet archives, particularly records of Politburo meetings.

Here again, virtually all interviewees agree that we have an issue worth exploring. An understanding of Gorbachev's true intentions in Afghanistan would surely provide insight into the overall design of his foreign policy. The Afghanistan escalation could profitably be considered in light of Gorbachev's simultaneous expansion of military assistance to the Soviet Union's Third World clients, notably Libya and Nicaragua, which also took place in the period 1985-1986. Was this a last-ditch effort to reverse the trend set in motion by the Reagan Doctrine and other American policies, or was it merely inertia?

It would surely be useful to know the answer, since this could help settle the debate over the reasons for perestroika and the ultimate collapse of the Soviet Union. Why? Because a Gorbachev who first aggressively pursued victory in the Third World probably would accommodate Western concerns and lower Cold War tensions for only one reason—to improve the USSR's power position. In such a case, determined Western resistance to Gorbachev's initial bout of expansionism might have played a key role in forcing Soviet reform.

U.S. Pressure Points

This latter scenario, of course, remains a hotly contested issue. Did Western pressure on the Soviet empire play a decisive role in bringing the Cold War to an end, and if so, how? While many aspects of this issue have been analyzed previously, several important ones have not.

Perhaps no single American military program had as great an impact on Soviet thinking as the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), as myriad statements by former Soviet officials, notably former Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh, now attest. Patrick Glynn suggests that scholars begin to catalogue all the statements by former Soviet officials testifying to SDI's decisive impact.

We are still not sure why the Soviets feared SDI as much as they apparently did, especially given that the system was years away from deployment, and the judgments of numerous Western analysts who considered it unfeasible. Several explanations could be offered for this Soviet reaction. First, in William T. Lee's view, it is likely that the Soviets had much to fear from even a partially effective SDI, as it could upset their contingency plans for a preemptive nuclear strike against American military facilities.

It is also possible, as Robert Conquest believes, that the Soviets simply had an exaggerated view of what American technology could achieve. Historian and former National Security Council staff member Richard Pipes says vociferous Soviet hostility to SDI convinced him that those "Western specialists [who attacked the system as unfeasible] were wrong." Lee points out that the Soviets had been conducting strategic defense research for some time, and that their test results may have made a space-based defense system seem viable.

Another important aspect of President Reagan's military buildup has hardly received any attention at all—the vast expansion of American conventional forces. Both the Reagan administration and its predecessors allocated far more money to conventional forces than to the much-ballyhooed nuclear weapons. However, we have yet to see a systematic analysis of how the Carter-Reagan conventional buildup may have affected Soviet policy and helped bring an end to the Cold War. If nothing else, such an analysis would help us figure out whether or nor our money was well spent.

GORBACHEV HIMSELF, DESPITE HIS POPULIST RHETORIC, WAS NO EXCEPTION TO AN ETHIC OF CONTEMPT FOR POPULAR ECONOMIC WOES.

Charles Fairbanks contends that, by the late 1970s, Soviet strategy in Europe was to use conventional forces to threaten a conventionally inferior NATO, while simultaneously undermining the U.S. nuclear guarantee of Western Europe on the grounds that Americans would never risk nuclear devastation merely to save West Germany or France. He and other specialists note that Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, Chief of the Soviet General Staff in the early 1980s, repeatedly urged Soviet armed forces to adjust to the new, more technologically sophisticated, forms of warfare introduced by the U.S. Army and Air Force, such as those utilized in the AirLand Battle and Follow-on Forces Attack (FOFA) plans for Western European defense.

Leon Aron says that although Marshal Ogarkov's ideas were largely rejected by Andropov (who eventually had Ogarkov sacked), the need for conventional-force technological modernization may have decisively influenced Soviet military and economic policy. Witness the deployment of numerous new conventional weapons systems during the Andropov, Chernenko, and early Gorbachev periods, as well as the emphasis on military-applicable advanced technology in Gorbachev's early economic program.

Richard Pipes adds that Soviet military thinking was probably significantly influenced by the impressive performance of the new American weapons systems during the Israel's 1982 defeat of the Syrian army in Lebanon; the precise nature of this influence should be investigated. What seems clear is that the impact of conventional arms has been unduly neglected by most analysts, a con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sequence, no doubt, of a natural, but sometimes excessive fixation on nuclear weapons.

The Dissident Factor

Another aspect of U.S. policy which which has largely been ignored by scholars so far is the Reagan administration's clandestine assistance to dissident organizations in Eastern Europe, particularly Poland's Solidarity. A recent study by Peter Schweizer based on in-depth interviews and newly declassified documents demonstrates that the scale of this assistance was much greater than previously believed.

These revelations are important in and of themselves, given that most Americans and East Europeans—including many professional analysts—remain unaware of the scale of this aid. Albert Wohlstetter, one of the most distinguished American analysts of the Cold War, flatly insisted: "There was no U.S. government support for dissident movements in Eastern Europe or in the Soviet Union."

SCHOLARS SHOULD PIN DOWN PRECISELY HOW FAR ANDROPOV, AND LATER GORBACHEV, WERE PREPARED TO GO WITH THEIR REFORMS. SURELY NEITHER ENVISIONED THE EVENTS OF 1991.

However, even Schweizer makes little effort to evaluate the effectiveness of this aid, as opposed to merely tabulating the resources committed to it. The importance of dissident movements in bringing about the collapse of communism has now been chronicled by a number of scholars. While the dissidents could not have overthrown communism solely through their own efforts, their ability to pressure already-weakened communist governments, and step into the vacuum created by their collapse, was vital. Although several of the interviewees, such as Robert Conquest, are skeptical that U.S. aid to Eastern European dissidents made much difference to the outcome of the Cold War, most agree the issue is worth considering.

Harvard University historian Adam Ulam suggests U.S. aid to dissidents, especially in Poland, could well have been a "very important" factor in the Soviet empire's collapse. As Peter Schweizer's recent account notes, the U.S. provided Solidarity with crucial electronic and communications equipment to clandestinely communicate with the Polish population. And, as virtually all analysts agree, Poland was the key to the whole of the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe, both because it is the single largest East European nation and because of its strategic importance to the military balance in Europe.

The experts agree that we need to gauge the impact of Western radio broadcasts behind the Iron Curtain. It is now known that a large proportion of the Soviet and East European populations listened to clandestine Western broadcasts on Voice of America, BBC, and Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe. But it would be worthwhile to trace the extent to which these broadcasts contributed to the rise of dissent.

Economic Crisis

The dilemma faced by Soviet leaders in the 1980s was at least partly brought on by the grossly inadequate performance of the USSR's centrally planned economy. The basic underlying reasons for this failure are by now well known. Yet as William T. Lee stresses, it seems necessary to underline how profoundly the Soviet economic system sacrificed consumer welfare to military needs, as many scholars continue to underestimate it; a 1990 study by Soviet emigre economist Igor Birman estimated that the military absorbed at least 25 percent of the Soviet GNP, and some Russian scholars claim even higher figures.

However, a few aspects of the Soviet Union's economic collapse have not received the full attention they deserve. Rand Corporation economist Charles Wolf argues that the poor quality of the service sector and infrastructure hobbled the Soviet economy, but to what extent is uncertain. Much of what little grain the USSR produced rotted in silos, for example, because it could not be sent to consumers for lack of transport capacity. Because service and infrastructure conditions were not included in official Soviet production statistics on which the government's economic Five Year Plans were based, industrial managers made little effort to improve performance in these areas.

Another neglected structural weakness of the Soviet economy was the country's lack of a hard, convertible currency. Hoover Institution monetary economist Judy Shelton points out that the absence of a stable currency prevented the Soviet Union from using the international credit instruments routinely used by other governments to stave off bankruptcy. The Soviets could not easily borrow from Western banks, nor could they get funds from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, even if the West were inclined to let them do so.

Rise of the Pessimists

New research should seek to link the internal and external factors behind the fall of the Soviet Union. Ultimately both were indispensable.

Internal crises stemming from economic difficulties and ethnic tensions were critical. Yet it was Western pressure that compelled the Soviet leadership to address these difficulties in the first place. In order for the Soviets to continue to pose a serious challenge to the United States, the empire had to improve its economic performance and social cohesion. To do that, radical reform became necessary.

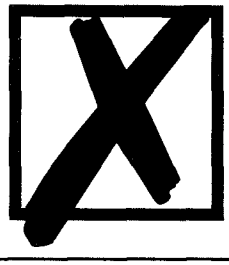
Most likely, it was the resurgence of Western power that allowed the "pessimistic" school within the Soviet leadership to prevail and led them to take increasingly dire risks to restore their position. Such, at any rate, seems to be the best conclusion that can be drawn from the existing work on the subject. It is up to new researchers to improve on it. ☎

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The best primer on political reality, **Beyond Politics** *will revolutionize your thinking!"* — **PETE DU PONT**

BEYOND POLITICS

Markets, Welfare and the Failure of Bureaucracy



William C. Mitchell & Randy T. Simmons

Foreword by Gordon Tullock

The Independent Institute

Orthodox public policy has held that "market failures" are rampant in society, necessitating government intervention to serve and protect the public good. In ***Beyond Politics*** however, the authors trace the anatomy of "government failures" and a pathology of contemporary political institutions as government has become the vehicle for private gain at public expense.

The book enlightens the true relationship of government and markets by emphasizing their actual rather than their ideal workings and by re-uniting the insights of economics with political science.

In so doing, this bold and vigorous book examines a host of public issues, including social welfare, education, consumer protection, and the environment. Offering a unified and powerful perspective on market processes, property rights, politics, contracts and government bureaucracy, ***Beyond Politics*** is a lucid and comprehensive book on how we can restore the institutions for a free and humane society.

"An outstanding job, **Beyond Politics** *explains the continuum of public policy battles and why bureaucratic institutions are unable to deliver on their promises."*
— **JAMES C. MILLER, III**
Former Director, Office of Management and Budget

"Public dissatisfaction with government now seems inescapable as publics are looking for a new conception of government. The excellent book, **Beyond Politics**, *clearly and persuasively fills this bill."*
— **ROBERT L. BARTLEY**
Editor, *The Wall Street Journal*

*"***Beyond Politics** *superbly assembles the required understanding of both economics and politics, to get straight to the important elements."*
— **JAMES M. BUCHANAN**
Nobel Laureate in Economic Science

*"***Beyond Politics** *is an accessible and compelling account of the major issue of our time — the intersection of politics and the market. With great care, the authors demolish the arguments to justify a vast government bureaucracy."*
— **RICHARD A. EPSTEIN**
Distinguished Professor of Law, University of Chicago

18 Figures • 2 Tables • Index • 224 pp • $49.50 Cloth/$17.95 Paper
Westview Press: Boulder • San Francisco • Oxford
Shipping/handling: Add $3.00/book (CA residents add sales tax)

ORDER TOLL FREE 1-800-927-8733
Credit card orders only. 24 hours a day.

The Independent Institute, Dept. BN1, 134 Ninety-Eighth Avenue, Oakland, CA 94603

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Milton Friedman, Orrin S. Kerr, Ann Azari, Sharon Sayles Belton, Martin J. Chavez, George Miller, John O. Norquist, Bruce Todd, David B. Kopel, Kim Weissman, Peter Simpson

WHO IS A CONSERVATIVE?

Dear Sir:

In your symposium "Serfdom USA," you say, "Hayek's *Road*, and his later works such as *The Constitution of Liberty* and *Law, Legislation, and Liberty*, are the most influential books in modern conservatism," yet Hayek added a postscript to *The Constitution of Liberty* entitled "Why I Am Not a Conservative."

Was Hayek wrong on his self-designation, but right on everything else?

Milton Friedman
Senior Research Fellow
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace
Stanford, California

Dear Professor Friedman:

Both Hayek and I are correct. Hayek was not a conservative at the time. It is precisely because he has been so influential in modern conservatism that he can be considered a conservative today.

Adam Meyerson
Editor

Dear Adam:

Pure evasion. Hayek, to the best of my belief, like myself, always considered himself a "whig"—a 19th century liberal, never a conservative. Was he really a conservative in the same sense that Buchanan, Bennett, Kirk, let alone Rothbard, are or profess to be a conservative? You do him no service by regarding him as so.

Milton Friedman

Dear Professor Friedman:

You are a conservative too. Sorry.

By the way, Hayek made it clear in "Why I am not a Conservative," that his quarrel was with European conservatives, not American ones. Hayek also considered himself in the same "liberal" tradition as Edmund Burke and Alexis de Tocqueville.

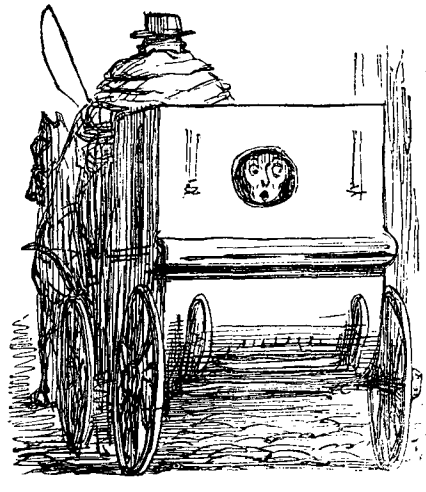
Adam Meyerson

ARMEY'S AGENDA

Dear Sir:

When Representative Dick Armey writes in "Serfdom USA" that his goal is to advance "a true Hayekian agenda, including...a free market health care system, and the elimination of the family-destroying welfare dole," it is clear that the agenda belongs to Armey, not Hayek.

Hayek, in fact, argues in *The Road to Serfdom* that the state has a valid interest in guaranteeing its citizens both a welfare net and health-care coverage. Regarding welfare, Hayek writes in Chapter IX of *The Road to Serfdom* that "there can be no doubt that some minimum of food, shelter, and clothing...can be assured [by the state] to everybody." Hayek's position on health-care coverage contradicts Armey's position no less directly. Hayek writes that "in the case of sickness...the case for the state's helping to organize a comprehensive system of social insurance is very strong."



The likely culprit of this misunderstanding is the often-forgotten fact that *The Road to Serfdom* does not argue for total removal of government interference in the free market. Instead, Hayek's book targets an extreme case—nationalization of the means of production of the economy. His conclusions about lesser degrees of state involvement reveal Hayek to be far less wary of the state than Representative Armey. Hayek, in fact, was critical of what he termed "the wooden insistence of some...on the principle of laissez-faire." He argued instead that the state could adopt a number of limited roles to help foster competition and maintain the well-being of its citizenry. These roles included supplying health care and welfare, which were needed "to preserve health and the capacity to work."

It is understandable that Armey would want to associate his own ideas with those of Hayek, and it is true that the political philosophies of the two men have much in common. However, by labeling his personal agenda as "Hayekian," Armey mischaracterizes the book and the author that "Serfdom USA" was designed to celebrate.

Orrin S. Kerr
Wilmington, Delaware

HOLISTIC APPROACH

Dear Sir:

I appreciated Vincent Lane's "Public Housing Sweep Stakes" (Summer 1994). The challenge he presents is appalling. How can we create positive community in such a climate as he describes? Should we forego our constitutional protection for the sake of safety? The process

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

must work for us—if conditions are a threat to safety, the police must secure warrants for searches. Our nation must never abandon our constitutional protections. If we do so, the threat of helplessness before our own government becomes as overwhelming as dealing with criminal behavior.

I found Lane's ideas to be alive and passionate. He's right: "We have two standards in America, one for poor and minorities, and one for everyone else." Let's change such wrong thinking; but get a warrant, Mr. Lane!

Ann Azari
Mayor
Fort Collins, Colorado

Fix Public Policies

Dear Sir:

While I take issue with some aspects of Vincent Lane's approach to public safety, more significantly, I am in strong agreement with his two fundamental theses. We both believe that reform of public housing can only succeed to the extent that we provide residents education, jobs, and a support system. We also agree that the basic problem with public housing is the concentration of poor people who live there instead of in a dispersed fashion throughout the community.

Minneapolis increasingly faces the issues Lane describes, albeit on a smaller scale. The City of Minneapolis funds a security guard contract at 17 of our 42 public housing high-rises. This complements our eight-member police teams assigned exclusively to public housing, under the Federal Public Housing Drug Elimination Program. A major focus of the teams is the elimination of drug activity.

I differ from Lane in that I am unwilling to cash in our constitutional protections in exchange for safety. Today's public safety problem is the result of years of bad public policies. We should solve it by changing the policies, not our constitution, while providing strong, swift and fair law enforcement for our people.

While safety in public housing is a critical problem, we must remain focused on the larger issue of eliminating poverty, unemployment, isolation and hopelessness which breeds crime. We need polices and partnerships which encourage two-parent families. We need education, opportunity and role models that demonstrate to children that there is as much opportunity in the legitimate economy as they think they see in the underground economy. I look to the federal government to provide cities with the leadership and resources to make this happen.

Sharon Sayles Belton
Mayor
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Zero Tolerance

Dear Sir:

I have great sympathy for Chicago Housing Authority Chairman Vincent Lane's attempts to combat serious crime and applaud him for his successes.

As Mayor of Albuquerque, my number-one priority in office has been to establish zero tolerance for gangs, violent crime, and graffiti which was beginning to become an established part of life here. I campaigned hard on this issue last year, and I have governed hard on it for the past nine months.

For the most part, my new anti-crime policy initiatives have been very well received. The City Council supported my first budget, which vastly increased the number of police officers on the street; we established a new "tattoo removal" program, with the help of volunteer doctors, to help young people leave the gang world; and 5,000 people turned out for a "Paint the Town Day," to paint over all the graffiti marring Albuquerque.

Like Lane, however, I was somewhat surprised by the verbal resistance to my enforcement of a youth curfew. The community overwhelmingly supports this policy, but there has been some commentary that such a curfew is unconstitutional, and unfair to teenagers.

I disagree strongly. Minors don't have the same rights as adults. Don't we already have different drinking ages, driver's license requirements, crime and punishment laws, and school attendance rules? Of course we do.

My policy is clear—I will enforce a youth curfew, to get our kids off the streets before they get into trouble, to help their parents re-establish discipline, and to cut down

I DIFFER FROM LANE IN THAT I AM UNWILLING TO CASH IN OUR CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTIONS IN EXCHANGE FOR SAFETY. TODAY'S PUBLIC SAFETY PROBLEM IS THE RESULT OF BAD PUBLIC POLICIES. WE SHOULD SOLVE IT BY CHANGING OUR POLICIES, NOT OUR CONSTITUTION.

—SHARON SAYLES BELTON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on serious crime. I only hope Albuquerque's crime will decline as much as that under Lane's jurisdiction.

Martin J. Chavez
Mayor
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Scattered Sites

Dear Sir:

We in Tucson agree with Vincent Lane on the need to change public housing. One of the ways we have changed public housing is by our scattered site program. The City of Tucson administers 1,500 public housing units. Most of our family public housing units are scattered in private neighborhoods throughout the city, many being single family homes. We adopted scattered site public housing back in the early 1970s. The Chicago Housing Authority administers 41,000 public housing units. Most of their units are confined to high density, high rise buildings. Tucson's public housing crime problems, thanks in part to our scattered site housing program, are nowhere near the problems comparatively speaking, occurring in Chicago's public housing.

Like Chicago, we too have a Family Self Sufficiency Program in place. Residents in that program benefit from a five- to seven- year plan that enables them to save money in an escrow account towards the purchase of a new home, while educating themselves for meaningful employment. The goal is that the family becomes self-sufficient and no longer on the tax supported rolls. In addition, we have what we call a Resident Participation Program. This program allows residents to perform certain community oriented tasks in exchange for a rent reduction. This program helps residents participate in the betterment of their community and teaches good neighborhood living values.

In order for public housing to effectively change, we need appropriate authority and resources to deal with public housing problems. The Public Housing Rent Reform Act, for example, would provide public housing residents with the incentives to maintain two-parent households and to seek employment. Additional funds should be made available for security, modernization, management, and prevention programs for public housing. Public housing authorities should not be in a mode where they are trying to take back their projects from gangs. The resources and mechanisms should be available and in place up front so that gangs don't gain a foothold to begin with. Given the proper incentives and hope for a decent future, public housing residents themselves could become the greatest deterrent to criminal elements in public housing.

In the case of Chicago's plight as depicted in Lane's article, I agree that the safety of residents has to take precedence over all other factors. Given the out-of-control situation in Lane's public housing projects, and given the limited resources available to him, Lane's actions are in the best interest of the community he serves.

George Miller
Mayor
Tucson, Arizona

LIKE LANE, I WAS SOMEWHAT SURPRISED BY THE VERBAL RESISTANCE TO MY ENFORCEMENT OF A YOUTH CURFEW. MINORS DON'T HAVE THE SAME RIGHTS AS ADULTS. DON'T WE ALREADY HAVE DIFFERENT DRINKING AGES, DRIVER'S LICENSE REQUIREMENTS, CRIME AND PUNISHMENT LAWS, AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE RULES? OF COURSE WE DO.
- MARTIN J. CHAVEZ

Lane's Success

Dear Sir:

Three years ago I visited the Robert Taylor Homes with then-Housing Authority police commander, Hosea Crossley, who took me along on a "sweep" of a building. The building was sealed and searched. Afterward, Crossley and I chatted with residents. They were not just happy. They were ecstatic. Crossley had removed guns and narcotics and installed a security check point to keep drugs and guns out.

Public housing residents want what all citizens desire, a safe home for themselves and their families. Lane aims to satisfy this basic desire. He also wants to eliminate the perverse impact of welfare, rent assistance, and other federal social programs that punish work and parental responsibility.

In Milwaukee, our Housing Authority existed long before federal subsidy and regulation of public housing. We maintain the notion that public housing residents are not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only tenants, but also citizens of Milwaukee with all the privileges and responsibilities that go with citizenship.

Murder, rape, extortion, selling drugs, and other criminal behavior are inconsistent with the responsibilities of a citizen tenant. Other important responsibilities include cleanliness, respect for other tenants and their property, and proper supervision of children. If this all sounds pretty basic, it is.

Lane's initial success and his vision for city living is based on the fundamental desire to please the citizens he serves. Thanks to people like Vincent Lane, we can hope that the good life can blossom again in our cities, even in the Robert Taylor Homes.

John O. Norquist
Mayor
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Focus on Fairness

Dear Sir:

Vincent Lane documents many of the obstacles involved in reducing crime in public housing. Fortunately, in Austin, Texas, we have not experienced the magnitude of problems that Chicago has faced, but the distinction is only a matter of degree. I applaud many of Lane's strategies and agree that a holistic approach involving education, job training, health care, and substance abuse programs is essential to break the generational cycle of families restricted to government support.

We have been able to reduce crime in housing developments by looking at the problems experienced by larger cities and taking the early preventative steps necessary to avoid similar situations. We organized a Housing Task Force to bring different segments of the community together to address problems. Police officers have adopted housing developments as problem-solving projects to build trust and create a capacity for self-reliance among residents. We have offices for patrol officers and Police Neighborhood Centers located within public housing. Partnerships have been formed to secure drug elimination and security grants. Development managers are volunteers for our Landlord Training Program. Residency Councils, the police, and the community work to provide counseing, job training, and opportunities for youth. We have recently implemented a Family Self-Sufficiency Program, utilizing public and private resources. This program provides child care, education, job training, health and counseling services to prepare the recipient to assume economic independence and self-sufficiency.

We believe that any long-term success is directly proportional to the extent that residents become intolerant of crime and build partnerships to take control of their environment. We have not, nor will we, engage in warrantless building sweeps. While the actions that caught the attention of the American Civil Liberties Union were motivated by good intentions, and undoubtedly supported by many, I prefer to believe that the success that Chicago experienced was due more to collaborative efforts than those that abridged civil liberties.

Bruce Todd
Mayor
Austin, Texas

Double Standard

Dear Sir:

Chicago Housing Authority chief Vincent Lane deserves credit for his willingness to state that welfare and public housing projects have been government-sponsored disasters. Sadly, the Clinton administration seems mostly interested in one of Lane's worst solutions—expelling the Constitution from public housing.

THE VERY REASON WE HAVE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AND AN INDEPENDENT FEDERAL JUDICIARY TO ENFORCE THEM IS TO PUT INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS BEYOND THE REACH OF ANY MAJORITY.

—DAVID B. KOPEL

As described by Lane, the warrantless "sweeps" of public housing residences seem rather benign: "When we went into the apartments we did not look under mattresses and in drawers."

The federal district court, however, paints a rather different picture: "These 'sweeps' were conducted by searching entire apartment units, including closets, drawers, refrigerators, cabinets, and personal effects."

One of the justifications offered for the warrantless searches was that there were "exigent circumstances" resulting from gunfire. But as the court noted, not one of the searches in question took place within 48 hours of the shooting activity. (Pratt v. CHA, 155 F.R.D. 177 [N.D. Ill. 1994]; Pratt v. CHA, 848 F. Supp. 792 [N.D. Ill. 1994]).

Lane's argument that the majority of the public housing residents support ignoring the Fourth Amendment in order to ensure that their neighbors are not exercising their Second Amendment rights is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

irrelevant. The very reason we have Constitutional rights and an independent federal judiciary to enforce them is to put individual rights beyond the reach of any majority.

To create a policy whereby a family living in the Robert Taylor Homes has fewer Constitutional rights than does a family living in middle class neighborhoods is to create a Constitutional caste system. Perhaps if the law-abiding, good people who live in the Robert Taylor Homes were allowed to own firearms for protection, the criminals would no longer feel so free to terrorize their victims.

David B. Kopel
Research Director
Independence Institute
Golden, Colorado

Criminal Government

Dear Sir:

I read Vincent Lane's "Public Housing Sweep Stakes" with some degree of disbelief at his glib evasion of the U.S. Constitution. With a passing acknowledgment that the warrantless searches of the Chicago Housing Authority units might be considered illegal, he proceeds to call them "emergency inspections," therefore permissible.

"Because we did not want people saying we were doing illegal searches...we did not look under mattresses and in drawers." Then, as if we should all stand up and applaud his cleverness, he tells us he "...sent in a team...to identify physical deficiencies...they looked under beds...they looked in closets..."

Lo and behold! Look how easy it is to evade all those silly Constitutional restrictions! What if one of Lane's "teams" was met by a resident who refused them admittance on the legitimate grounds of the Fourth Amendment? A club over the head for their own good?

Lane then went on to decry the differing standards, "one for the poor, and one for everybody else" imposed by the welfare state. Does he think his own "raid and search" gestapo tactics would be tolerated in, let's say, a white middle-class neighborhood? Hardly. So who is holding poor minorities to differing standards?

Lane is apparently very proud that his tactics have reduced crime. I suggest that his tactics have merely substituted government criminality for the private kind. And even if his claims are correct, are we to be content to trample Constitutional rights with the assertion that the end justifies any means? After all, if we really want to combat crime, all we need do is tear up the Constitution and institute the type of police state found in Cuba, China, the former Soviet Union...or Nazi Germany.

Kim Weissman
Longmeadow, Massachusetts

Better Solution

Dear Sir:

Representative Pete Hoekstra, in "Breaking the Congressional Lockgrip," recommends the introduction of national referenda to solve the current problems with Congress. I agree Congress has problems, but national referenda are not the solution.

First of all, they do not confront the main problem except very indirectly. That problem, by Congressman Hoekstra's own confession, is the dominance of special interests. What we need is something that will end such dominance, not something that will only bypass it.

Second, are not referenda going to increase the amount of campaigning that goes on and hence the need for money to finance such campaigns? This will subsequently increase reliance on special interests all over again to give the money.

I have a simpler and more effective solution that will cost nothing. Congress, despite being popularly elected, is really a very narrow oligarchy; it is run by the congressional leadership which is composed of those who have been there longest, have the most friends, the most people in their debt, etc.

The leadership is also composed of those most courted by the special interests and those most beholden to these interests for financing reelection campaigns. If we could break this oligarchy and make Congress more internally democratic we might get somewhere.

I propose that all congressional committee membership and their chairmen be selected by lottery at the beginning of each term instead of seniority.

What would this change? First of all, Congressmen would cease being re-elected by the constituents just because they are the chairmen or members of a big committee (the Rostenkowskis of this world).

Second, the voters will not be prevented, by fear of losing some influential and long-term congressman, to follow their real wishes and elect

LANE IS APPARENTLY VERY PROUD THAT HIS TACTICS HAVE REDUCED CRIME. I SUGGET THAT HIS TACTICS HAVE MERELY SUBSTITUTED GOVERNMENT CRIMINALITY FOR THE PRIVATE KIND.

—KIM WEISSMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

new faces.

There will be a greater turnover in membership at each election, returning us to the pattern that was dominant until about 50 years ago.

Third, members will be less beholden to special interests because more of them will be new and fewer of them will stay around very long.

Fourth, special interests will no longer be able to "buy" important congressmen by funding their re-election campaigns because no one will know in advance which congressmen will be important and which ones will not.

Fifth, the kinds of people running for Congress will improve, since it will be impossible to be a career politician anymore; seniority and number of powerful friends will cease to mean anything.

The people running for office will more likely be individuals who want to serve for a while before returning to their regular career. They therefore will be closer and more responsive to the local community from which they come and to which they expect to return.

Since they will not stay around as long nor need lots of money to fund re-election campaigns, they will be less likely to be corrupted by special interests.

Sixth, committee chairmen will not be able to lord over other members of Congress like tyrants. For the odds are overwhelming that they will not be chairman next term—or even a member of the same committee. They will therefore need to be very careful not to annoy anyone since whom they annoy could quite possibly be lording over them next.

What chance does this proposal have of being enacted? Better, I would say, than the chance that any of Congressman Hoekstra's proposals have of being implemented. For all this proposal requires is internal congressional action and all it attacks is the power elites; also, it may well command the votes of a majority of members in Congress, since only few in power will lose while many stand to gain enormously. Moreover, it does not require some complicated new law and it does not attack or compromise any principle of the American Constitution as Congressman Hoekstra's proposals do.

There is no need to be disturbed by the claim that this proposal will reduce the competence of Congress on the grounds that Congress needs its members to be experts, and only time makes experts. For only time makes congressional power elites too, and it is false to suppose that the current system in Congress makes for competence (competence in legislating, that is).

Anyway, with the power elites gone, there will be fewer irrelevant things for freshman to learn. In fact, congressmen will be able, at long last, to spend time on what they should be spending time on: Politics and legislation, instead of on getting money for the next election or on currying favor with some big wheel congressional leader by selling him their vote (and soul).

Professor Peter Simpson
City University of New York -
College of Staten Island
Staten Island, NY

Statement of Ownership
Management and Circulation
(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1A. Title of Publication:
Policy Review
1B. Publication Number: 008-059
2. Date of Filing: October 1, 1994
3. Frequency of issue: Quarterly
3A. No. of issues published annually:4
3B. Annual Subscription Price: $22

4. Address of office of publication:
214 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
5. Address of headquarters of publisher:
Same as above
6. Full names and addresses of:
Publisher: Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.
214 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
Editor: Adam Meyerson
214 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
Managing Editor: Margaret Bonilla
214 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
7. Owner and address:
The Heritage Foundation
214 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
8. Known bondholders, mortgagees
and other security holders: None.
9. The purpose, function and non-profit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes: (1) has not changed during the preceding 12 months.

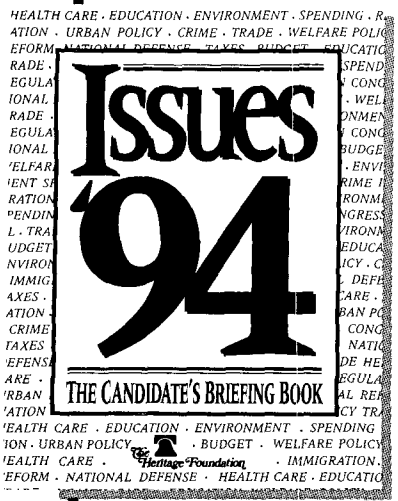
10.	Avg. number of copies of each issue during preceding 12 month	Actual number of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date
Extent and nature of circulation:		
A. Total number copies:	39,872	46,410
B. Paid and/or requested circulation		
1. Sales through dealers	2,745	3,619
2. Mail subscription	23,844	27,323
C. Total paid &/or requested circ:	26,589	30,942
D. Free distr. by mail, carrier, etc.	5,343	5,325
E. Total distribution	31,932	36,267
F. Copies not distributed		
1. Office use, left over, etc.:	6,048	8,662
2. Return from news agents:	1,892	1,481
G. TOTAL	39,872	46,410

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

Ben Morehead
Associate Publisher

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Winning Game Plan for Conservative Candidates



$18.95 304 pages

Across the country scores of good conservative candidates are locked in tight election year battles. Their liberal opponents, often better financed and with media support, all too often have a stranglehold on framing the issues. But this fall, thanks to **The Heritage Foundation's** *"Candidate Education Project"* and its briefing book, ***ISSUES '94***, candidates will be competing on a level playing field. Armed with this winning game plan for candidates, conservatives can offer concrete solutions to America's problems. ***ISSUES '94*** is a book every active conservative needs to read and act on.

Recent history shows that conservative candidates who succeed in making economic growth, jobs, taxes, crime, and welfare the issues are far more likely to win. This is especially true when the opponent is accurately defined as supporting new and more government handouts, special interest regulation, and higher taxes on enterprise and jobs. Conservative candidates who make *"the politics of substance"* their central focus can win elections.

The Heritage Foundation's ***ISSUES '94*** is loaded with tips, techniques and tested methods that candidates and their supporters can use to ensure victory. Packed with myth shattering facts and figures, ***ISSUES '94*** will apply pressure to opposition candidates and expose liberal fallacies easier than ever before.

ISSUES '94 can help conservatives win by generating enthusiastic grass roots support and by staying focused on the issues Americans are really concerned with. Order your copy today by calling 1-800-544-4843.

High praise for *ISSUES '94*

*"**ISSUES '94** is the most factual, the most readable and the most rational discussion of the main issues of our time that I have seen."* **Thomas Sowell**

"An invaluable resource as I campaigned up and down the trail.... The common sense, conservative public policies struck a tune with my constituents."
Cong. Frank Lucas, Oklahoma

A few of the important issues covered...

Health Care - *Ways to reform health care without giving the government control over one-seventh of our entire economy.* **Government Waste** - *Cutting $680 billion in federal spending.* **Educational Choice** - *Ways to get the bureaucrats and unions out of education and give the power back to parents.* **Federal Budget** - *Balancing the budget without raising taxes.* **Welfare** - *Real welfare reforms without spending increases.* **Cutting Taxes** - *How to do it and why it's important.* **Fighting Crime** - *Tougher laws are only part of the answer.* **Traditional Values** - *It's time to start restoring such values as individual responsibility, right and wrong, and family values.* **Defense Spending** - *Keeping America safe without pork-barrel defense spending.* **Illegal** (and **Legal**) **Immigration** - *Defusing the immigration time bomb.* ***Plus much more...***

CALL TODAY AND ORDER YOUR COPY! 1-800-544-4843 (VISA and MasterCard orders only)

☑ **YES,** please rush me ____ copies of ***ISSUES '94***. **PR70**
*($22.95 postpaid. Please add $7.00 additional for 2-Day **RUSH** delivery.)*

Enclosed is my check for $ _____. Please charge my credit card: ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard

Card #: _____ Expires: _____

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

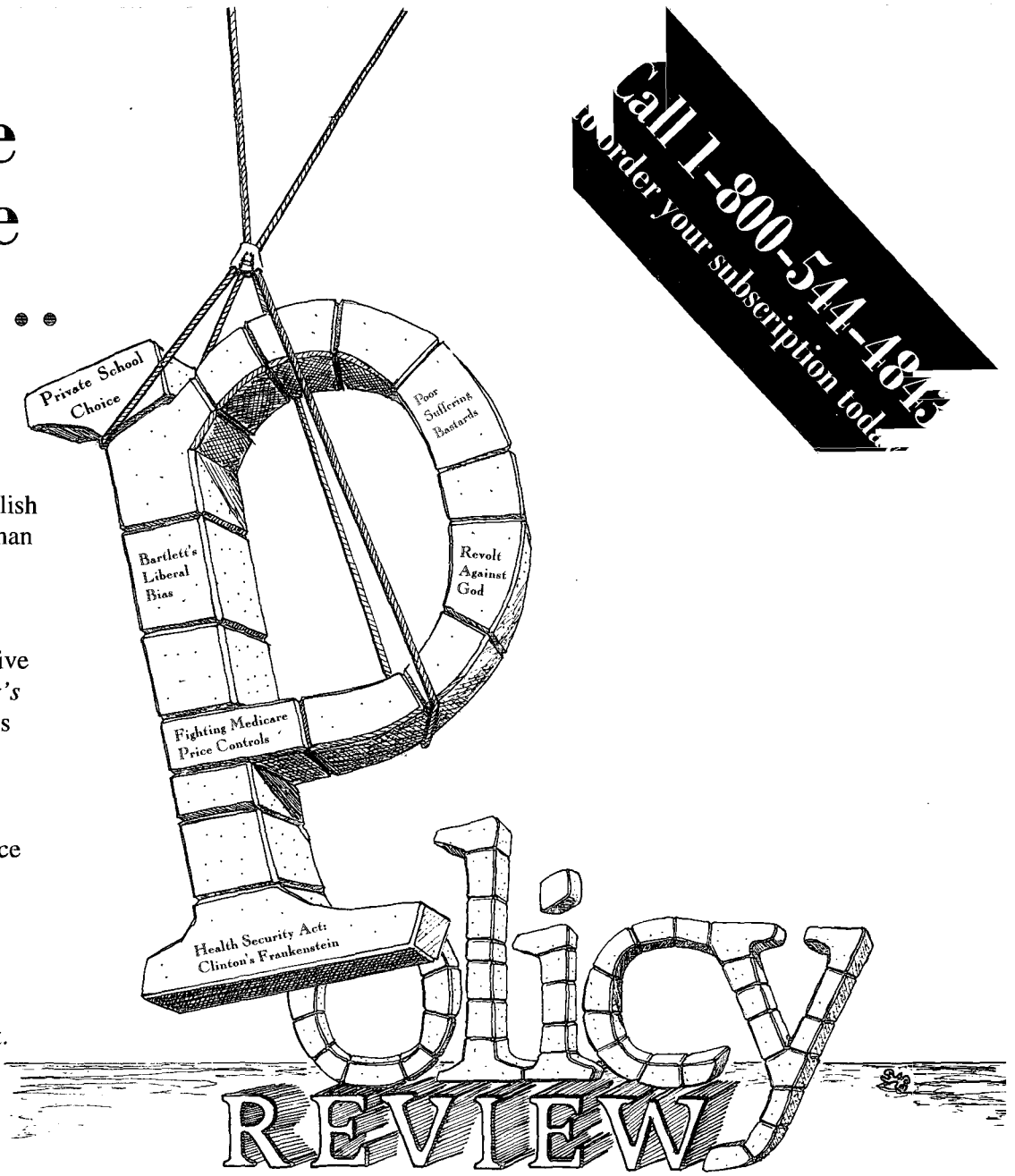
CITY: _____ STATE: _____ ZIP: _____

☐ I'm enclosing a tax-deductible donation to help The Heritage Foundation's *"Candidate Education Project."*
☐ $2500 ☐ $1000 ☐ $500 ☐ $100 ☐ $25 A FREE copy of ***ISSUES '94*** will be sent as a *"Thank You"* to every donor.

The Heritage Foundation, *Attn: Sales Dept.*, 214 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, DC 20002-4999

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Building the conservative movement...



Call 1-800-544-4843 to order your subscription today.

At ***Policy Review*** we realize that good ideas are the bricks and mortar of the conservative movement. That's why we publish more good conservative ideas than anyone else.

Recent ***Policy Review*** articles include: "250 Great Conservative Quotes" censored from *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations,* "Clinton's Frankenstein," the gory details of the president's health plan, and "Rapid Assimilation," the founding father's timeless advice on immigration.

Call now, and you'll lock in savings of up to **32 percent** on ***Policy Review,*** the premier journal of conservative thought.

Good Idea!

YES! I want to subscribe. ☐ One Year (4 issues) $16.95 *a 23% savings* ☐ Two Years (8 issues) $29.50 *a 33% savings*

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Begin my subscription:
☐ Current Issue
☐ Next Issue

Payment Method:
☐ Visa ☐ Mastercard ☐ American Express
☐ Payment Enclosed

Card Number _____ Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

Make checks payable to: ***Policy Review***. 214 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Washington DC 20002
Add $10.00 postage per year for foreign air-speeded delivery. SAH70

The Heritage Foundation

...one good idea at a time.

Policy Review, the quarterly journal of The Heritage Foundation • 214 Massachusetts Ave., NE • Washington, DC 20002 • 1-800-544-4843 (orders only)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

policy REVIEW

Early in 1988 Kenosha, Wisconsin became the symbol in the national media of all that is wrong with American capitalism. In January that year, the Chrysler Corporation announced that two days before Christmas it would close the nation's oldest car factory, laying off 5,500 workers—40 percent of the city's manufacturing workforce. News accounts predicted doom for the rustbelt community.

But the liberals just didn't get it.

Today, six years after the last car rolled off the line, Kenosha has gone from bust to boomtown: unemployment has been halved, per-capita income is up, and new housing starts have soared. This community has become a testament to the resiliency of market capitalism, traditional values, and conservative economic policies.

Stephen Glass
Yes We Kenosha: With Can-Do Capitalism, A Wisconsin Town Busts Out of the Rustbelt

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED